NEIGHBOURHOOD ATTACHMENT AND PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOUR: A THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF URBAN LIFE

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ABSTRACT

This thesis sets out to examine the spatial aspects of micro-social behaviour at the neighbourhood level. It seeks to achieve a better understanding of what ordinary people think about their local area, and how this affects their behaviour within that area.

The development of the twin concepts of neighbourhood and community is examined, and their relevance to everyday life is traced through the history of town planning in Britain and America. The strands of philosophical notions and practical planning procedures are put into context by reference to more recent geographical and sociological studies, in particular the community studies of the 1950s and 1960s. Following the identification of a gap in our knowledge of the micro-social behaviour of ordinary residents in typical urban settings, the study is focussed upon the 'affective' (what attachments people feel towards their local area) and the 'utilitarian' (what local services they use or do not use) aspects of neighbourhood life.

Following a pilot study in Stoke-on-Trent, four different ways of living in an area are identified. These four response patterns are described as ideal types which in a 'pure' form cannot be found in the real world. The four patterns identified are termed 'socio-spatial types' and are further articulated and developed through the main study in the Withington area of Manchester.

Households falling within socio-spatial type 1 clearly like their local area and represent the tendency towards stability and equilibrium in any area; and as such their needs can be adequately and effectively planned for. The other three socio-spatial types deviate from this pattern of stability in various complex, and sometimes ambiguous ways.

The thesis concludes with an assessment of the usefulness of classifying such behaviour into a socio-spatial typology, and of the relevance of the concept to the theory and practice of modern town planning and urban management.

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* Both maps drawn by Mrs M Patrick, Department of Geography, University of Keele, for the report of the findings of the pilot survey published by the author in 1975 - Edwards, T.W. (1975) (for reference, see Chapter 4, general note).

+ Based on the Ordnance Survey 1:10560 map. (1966)

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY

1.1 *The Emergence of 'Community'*

The words 'community' and 'neighbourhood' are used frequently in British society today. The two words have many different meanings and uses, and inasmuch as they have entered more and more into 'official' jargon over the last 15 years, becoming noted as planning tools and political artifacts, they are becoming more important to everyone living in this country. Both words suffer from having several dictionary definitions which cannot be easily distinguished in common language without a qualifying phrase. Although it would be fruitless to pursue this discussion of the etymology of the words 'community' and 'neighbourhood' much further, it may be useful to bear in mind some typical dictionary definitions[1] of the two words, in relation to the ensuing arguments:-

community

1. a body of people having common interests
2. a body of people having a common environment
3. the public, or people in general
4. a common possession
5. a common enjoyment

neighbourhood

1. state of being near to each other
2. adjoining district and its people
3. proximity, vicinity, propinquity

There are of course many words in the English language with such diverse and imprecise meanings. This line of thought would be facile were it not for the fact that the words 'community' and 'neighbourhood' retain their vagueness and subjectivity when used by powerful institutions and organisations which affect the day-to-day life of the country. It is one thing for a word to be used imprecisely in common language, but quite another for it to enter into the terminology of central and local government and still elude definition.

'Community' is often used by politicians to mean 'the people' or 'the public at large'. However, the planning profession usually refers to 'communities' or 'neighbourhoods' in relation to particular localities, attempting to describe something more than just the buildings and the people. In particular, post-war British town planners have used the words in relation to the social effects of physical plans, especially with regard to policy innovations. For example, the development of neighbourhood units in the late 1940s and early 1950s recognised that more than just houses were needed on new estates; the New Town movement realised that new residents may find it easier to identify with an area immediately around their dwelling, rather than the town as a whole (with its often unfinished central facilities); and more recently, the development of urban renewal in British cities (General Improvement Areas and Housing Action Areas) has sought to persuade local residents to become attached to their locality, to wish to remain there, and to help improve their own homes.

Furthermore, area-based experiments (such as the Inner Area Studies, and the Community Development Projects) and programmes (such as the Comprehensive Community Programmes, and Inner City Partnership

Programmes) have meant that small areas within cities are being identified as justifying a special investment of public funds. One of the major criteria upon which such decisions are based is the communal (or shared) deprivations suffered by the inhabitants of a whole area, including the absence of community cohesion, as well as more measurable aspects such as poor physical environment and lack of facilities. For example, Eyles traces the development of area-based policies in Britain, and suggests that they "are one of the ways of ensuring that those deemed to be in most need receive selective benefits."[2]

The measurable aspects of deprivation (mainly personal rather than communal) play a hidden but crucial role in the financing of local government. Through the Rates Support Grant, central government gives local authorities a sum of money to carry out a certain range of services. The more 'needy' an authority is in terms of the deprivations endured by its inhabitants, the more money it gets through the Rates Support Grant. For most British cities, the revenue received by local authorities through the Rates Support Grant is substantially higher than that received through the rates themselves. Most of these large metropolitan authorities (as well as all the New Town Corporations) spend a considerable amount of the money they receive upon 'community development' or 'social development'. However, the ways in which they choose to 'develop the community' vary enormously, which justifies a concern with the ambiguity of the concepts of 'community' and 'neighbourhood'.

'Community' is not only important in the way public bodies receive and allocate financial resources, but also has a subtle impact in other areas of public life. Public organisations and agencies often need (sometimes as a statutory requirement - as with District and Structure Plans) to consult the community (that is, the public) over particular proposals. As it would be impossible to discuss each plan or proposal with all the members of the public who may be affected by it, these public agencies often attempt to negotiate with spokesmen (or leaders) of the community. For leaders to exist, organisations have to be established which represent - or claim to represent - the whole of a particular neighbourhood or community. These organisations can also lend weight to the views or suggestions made by them or their leaders. Thus, over the last ten years there has been a boom in the creation, usually with official blessing, of residents' associations, re-born parish councils, etc. In this way, 'community' or 'neighbourhood' has taken on a new significance for many people living in British cities.

It is also quite common for new projects (particularly those involving the investment of public funds) to be designed and evaluated in terms of the effects, desired or not, they might have upon local surrounding communities. Finally, 'community' has affected the lives of many people in describing facilities which they are supposed to partly own; for example, 'community centres', 'community-parks', 'community-playgrounds', and 'community-schools'. Presumably it is hoped that prefixing 'community-' to new or already existing facilities will encourage people to identify more with the facility, and in turn to use it more.

Community and neighbourhood have been thrust upon people over the last decade at perhaps an ever increasing rate. The terms have been used by official agencies and organisations in the apparent belief that they understand the styles of life of the people they wish to affect, and grasp the significance of the 'desirable' changes which they hope to bring about.

In an attempt to comprehend why the spatial/geographical dimension of everyday life seems to be so important, and how the related concepts of 'community' and 'neighbourhood' have such a widespread 'official' use and yet remain ill-defined, we must trace the development of these concepts from the roots of sociological thought in the nineteenth century.

1.2 *The Sociological Aetiology of 'Community'*

As noted by Bell and Newby, the starting point of many of the founding fathers of sociology was "the democratic political revolutions of America and France, and the industrial revolutions of Britain and, later, the remainder of Western Europe." [4]

The democratic revolutions were finally to end medieval feudalism, and 'enlightened despotism', throughout Europe during the nineteenth century. Aside from moral issues, the political effect of this was to free men from the land and allow them to offer their labour for sale on the open market. This, of course, was a pre-requisite for the industrialisation which had started in Britain in the late eighteenth century, and spread across Europe and America by the middle of the nineteenth century.

Industrialisation brought about great changes in the normal life of the mass of the population - changes centred upon working in factories rather than fields, and living in cities and towns rather than villages and hamlets.

Although a comprehensive analysis of the development of sociological thought during the nineteenth century is obviously well beyond the scope of this thesis, it will be useful to consider briefly the ideas and methodological tools developed by certain influential sociologists of the period. This is an essential background to any review of the evolution of the concept of community in the twentieth century.

The work of Comte was a reflection of concepts which originated in the eighteenth century during 'The Enlightenment'. His 'social physics' or sociology, relied heavily upon the application of the scientific method to human organisation. He drew heavily upon analogy with biology (the most refined science of his day), and particularly with its emphasis upon detailed observation and recording, experimentation, and comparison. He was convinced that there were invariable laws which governed human relationships, similar to the 'laws' being discovered in the natural world. This belief in 'natural' laws (of which he was not the first proponent) came to be known as 'positivism', and is important in that it views the search for order within society as its central problem.

The major concern of Marx was that which underpins the social order, namely the economic order. Within the history of man, he recognised 'five great modes of society' - primitive communion, slavery, feudalism,

capitalism and socialism. He did not assume that harmony and changelessness were normal characteristics of society, unlike most of his predecessors. Instead, he tried to explain change, and recognised the crucial point that social appearance is not always social reality.

'Class' to Marx meant economic class, that is, relationship to the means of production. His three major classes were landowners, entrepreneurs (those who provided capital for investment, and accrued the profits of production), and the proletariat (those who had only their labour to sell). He argued that the relationship between these classes had changed over time as society had become more complex.

Because members of the proletariat were engaged in occupations which were only a means to an end (that is, they had to earn wages to buy the food they needed) they would become, according to Marx, 'alienated' from their work processes and consequently from that society.

Marx was clearly concerned with the problem of control within society, that is, looking at the actions and ambitions of individuals and groups within society, rather than assuming a natural primordial order between the different elements. Through looking at conflict between different groups he was able to offer an explanation of why change occurred within society.

It has been argued that the dual concern over the problems of order and control has been the basis of the development of sociology.[5]

Rather like Comte, Durkheim was concerned with 'order' within society, and what could be done to re-establish and maintain that order. He looked for the 'social element' which sociologists should legitimately study, and this led him to a consideration of 'obligations', contracts', 'duties', 'laws', and'customs'. He believed that if he could distinguish the basics of social order, he would be indicating what the true conditions of human happiness were.

Through a study of the 'Division of Labour', Durkheim examined 'social solidarity' - that which holds society together. He argued that in simple society (pre-industrial) this solidarity rests upon collectively-held sentiments, values and ideas which have evolved over several centuries. Whereas in advanced societies, this solidarity is based upon the division of labour, whereby different elements of society agree to co-operate in performing certain tasks and maintaining the social order. These different elements could not survive independently, and rely for their existence upon the co-operation of other elements. The first type of solidarity, Durkehim termed 'mechanical solidarity', where individuals and groups differ very little from each other in the tasks and duties they perform. The second type of solidarity he called 'organic solidarity',[6] which is characterised by highly specialised elements, and where society only survives by the consensus - sometimes in the form of written laws - of all the component individuals and groups.

He recognised that Western industrialised societies were characterised by 'organic solidarity', and argued that humans could only achieve pleasure or happiness within the bounds of socially approved norms. Where rapid change and mobility tended to make these universally accepted norms and values less clear, or where theycollapsed altogether, an individual would find himself in a state of personal disorganisation. This, Durkheim

called 'anomie'. By the eradication of anomie, society could once again function successfully, and individuals could achieve personal happiness. Durkheim's analysis of society later became known as 'functionalism'.

Weber's principal contribution to our understanding of society was through the methodological tools which he invented to use in the analysis of society. Weber turned away from simply using facts, to develop a 'pure form' (or as he called it an 'ideal type'), which for conceptual clarity he treated as if it actually existed. He rejected descriptions which were made in terms of statistical averages and considered the fundamental description of a phenomena as an 'ideal type' to be more useful in trying to understand it. When considering the elements of a society he used terms such as 'actors', 'actions', and 'interactions'. That is, to describe an 'ideal type', he had to postulate a hypothetical actor planning his actions, and taking into account the actions of others.

Weber considered that for society to exist one man must obey another because he believes him to have legitimate 'authority'. He then classified authority according to the reasons which men give for being compelled to obey, for accepting the authority as legitimate. His first form of authority was 'traditional authority', where rules and orders were obeyed because'it has always been so'. The second form he identified was 'charismatic authority', where a particular ruler is obeyed because of his own personal qualities. His final type of authority he termed 'rational-legal authority', where rules are obeyed because they are thought to be in accordance with the general principles of law, which are in turn a reflection of the consensus of society.

This analysis led Weber on to looking at the actions of individuals and groups of individuals within each different form of authority. He recognised that under 'rational-legal authority', the administrators or bureaucrats have to specialise in different spheres of competence, develop expertise and form a hierarchy. They need to perform certain specialised actions to 'run' society through 'rational-legal authority'. Furthermore they were able to demarcate between their public and private lives and perform different sets of actions in relation to each.

Weber distinguished market situations (which gave rise to the hierarchical economic classes of Marx) from status situations. The latter are concerned with the differential distribution of prestige, and give rise to different 'ways of life' which have to be defended from wider society. Furthermore, people with similar interests may develop a similar 'way of life', and form a status group, so as to preserve their position within the hierarchy of society. This social stratification based upon life-styles and status has been central to the development of the concepts of community and neighbourhood.

Tonnies' book 'Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft' was first published in 1887, and has influenced either directly or indirectly, all theories of 'community' since then. 'Gemeinschaft' and 'gesellschaft' translate rather uneasily into English, but are usually referred to as 'community' and 'society' or 'association' respectively. They are 'ideal types' and thus not expected to exist in a pure form in the real world. Further to that, they are both 'polar types', and represent the two ends of a continuum, so one is able to postulate the position of various social phenomena and institutions along this continuum.

Like Weber, he distinguished between different types of action and the reasons why men pursued them. His distinction however, was based upon what he called 'natural will' and 'rational will'. Oversimplified, one might say that 'natural will' relates to emotions and habits and is generally spontaneous in nature; whereas 'rational will' is the "product of thinking itself"[7] and is based upon some concept of what is logical to that individual in a particular situation.

Gemeinschaft, or community, is the product of 'natural will'. A man's position in such a community is determined by who he is rather than what he has done. Human relationships which develop, grow slowly over a long period of time and are based upon the aggregate of social interaction over the whole period. Such relationships become very intimate and long-lasting, when there is a clear understanding of where each person stands in relation to all other members of the community. To borrow a more recent way of describing such relationships; status and roles are said to be ascribed rather than achieved. That is, they relate to involuntary pre-determined features of a man's place within society. Where everyone knows everyone else, issues, events and explanations tend to become personalised; and it follows that for this to happen, the members of such a community must be relatively physically and socially immobile. The bonds of social interaction between the members of a 'gemeinschaft' are "characterised by emotional cohesion, depth, continuity and fullness".[8]

Gesellschaft (either society or association) on the other hand is a product of 'rational will', and is diametrically opposed to the situation which exists under 'gemeinschaft'. Such a society is much larger in scale than a'gemeinschaft and social interaction is based upon impersonal and contractual ties. The

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members of this type of society are very mobile, both physically and socially, and relationships are fragmented and have a defined, limited purpose. Status is achieved, rather than being ascribed or inherited, and individuals are essentially different and separated.

Tonnies also points out that "gemeinschaft should be understood as a living organism, gesellschaft as a mechanical aggregate and artefact".[9] Mann[10] produced a table outlining the "corresponding and opposite concepts" of Tonnies' 'gemeinschaft' and'gesellschaft'; and goes on to show that concepts of many other sociologists can be described in terms of the same 'gemeinschaft-gesellschaft' or 'community-society' dichotomy. Tonnies postulated that change in Western industrialised nations could be explained as a movement from 'gemeinschaft' to 'gesellschaft'. This hypothesis has formed the basis for our conceptualisation of community, and to a large extent, our attempts to formulate social policies designed to increase man's social well-being and happiness.

Social theories were developed in order to understand, and sometimes to change, contemporary social realities. In some instances (such as below) these analyses involved a certain spatial consciousness; whilst in others, powerful individuals were able to implement their ideas and modify, albeit in a very minor way, the social geographical patterns of their day. The time lag and imbalance between 'armchair' social theories, and the implementation of practical policies which change the 'real world', can be traced through to the present day.

2.3 *Early Attempts to Understand and Manipulate Urban Life*

Processes of industrialisation and urbanisation gathered momentum during the nineteenth century throughout Western Europe and America. Great Britain was the first nation to go through a so-called 'industrial revolution' and was consequently more industrialised and urbanised than any other part of the world for most of this period. This was leading not only to the creation of crowded areas of poor quality workers' houses, but also, as Engels noted in 1844, to a subtle differentiation of the workers' houses from the residences of the affluent, and a concomitant invisibility in sight and concern over the situation of the mass of the urban population:-

> "(Manchester) is peculiarly built, so that a person may live in it for years, and go in and out daily without coming into contact with a working-people's quarter or even with workers, that is, so long as he confines himself to his business or pleasure walks. This arises chiefly from the fact, that by unconscious tacit agreement, as well as with outspoken conscious determination, the working people's quarters are sharply separated from the sections of the city reserved for the middle class; or, if this does not succeed, they are concealed with the cloak of charity. Manchester contains, at its heart, a rather extended commercial district, perhaps half a mile long and about as broad, and consisting almost wholly of offices and warehouses. With the exception of this commercial district, all Manchester proper, all Salford and Hulme, ... are all unmixed working people's quarters, stretching like a girdle, averaging a mile and a half in breadth, around the commercial district. Outside, beyond this girdle, lives the upper and middle bourgoisie in regularly laid out streets in the vicity of working quarters.....the upper bourgeoisie in remoter villas with gardens."[11]

However, certain Victorians did take notice of this situation, and through their efforts there grew a British tradition of attempting to alter the urban environment in practical and fundamental ways.

During the nineteenth century, a series of "enlightened entrepreneurs" decided to build their own villages to house the workers from their own factories. At first they were usually based upon Utopian ideals, and linked to a rigid social philosophy, as with Samuel Oldknow at Mellor in Derbyshire and Robert Owen at New Lanark on the River Clyde. Towards the end of the century, they built up as a mixture of philanthropy and sound business sense (happy workers = more production = more profits). The developments at Saltaire (Titus Salt, 1853), Bournville (George Cadbury, 1878) and Port Sunlight (W H Lever, 1887) being the most famous examples of the latter type.[12] Other philanthropic housing societies built working class houses in the existing cities - the most well-known being the Peabody Trust, founded in 1862.

Concern over the 'condition of the poor' also led to a series of attempts to improve existing urban environments as well as create new ones. Social reformers in Parliament were able to push through a series of Bills relating to public health and housing.[13] The Public Health Acts (1848 and 1875) laid down a series of standards relating to width and layout of streets, and public utilities such as water supply and effluent disposal; whilst a series of building by-laws created what came to be known as 'by-law housing', which fulfilled a minimum of domestic requirements in terms of living space, light and ventilation.

Later in the century, another wealthy Victorian businessman, Charles Booth, was to initiate another tradition. He was concerned with the conditions of working-class people, and wished to achieve a better understanding of their situation. He embarked upon a series of 'social surveys', culminating in his 'Poverty Survey' of 1903.[14] He did not base his work on pre-existing theories, but simply tried to collect facts in a logical and painstaking manner. To quote Simey - "It was in his own language, a 'way of looking at things', not a 'doctrine or argument' that he endeavoured to present to the world."[15] His survey work was continued by other wealthy influential men of the time, notably Seebohm Rowntree.

Furthermore, the introduction of new laws relating to public health, poor law and housing, often necessitated the collection of statistics relating to these aspects of Victorian life. These statistics, together with the existence of a decennial census since 1851, meant that by the turn of the century a wealth of social information was available to anyone who cared to use it. Often it was the administrators and bureaucrats involved in the collection of such figures who tried to assimilate them within reports. In this sense, Sir John Simon's commentary upon public health statistics, and the work of William Farr at the General Register Office proved to be highly influential upon the social reformers of the day.[16]

The movement for social reform had by the 1880s developed into a well-organised pressure group, the Fabian Society (led by Sidney and Beatrice Webb), and the need to help the urban poor became an issue which it was difficult for anyone in the public life of the country to ignore.

Two further influences upon thinking about the city in late Victorian Britain are apparent and worthy of mention. The first is the work of Herbert Spencer, a social philosopher, who through his theory of social evolution pursued the analogy between societies and organisms to greater and greater extremes. The

second is the English Romantic movement, which through art and literature gave full vent to feelings of the day which distrusted and hated the growth of cities, and idealised all aspects of country life.

1.4 *Growth of the British Town Planning Movement and the Attempt to Purify Cities*

The preceding sections have set the social context in which British town planning was to develop around the turn of the nineteenth century. A comprehensive history of the development of town planning is, once again, beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it is necessary to take a cursory look at the genesis of town planning in order to appreciate the effects that it has had upon contemporary 'community planning' and 'neighbourhood planning'.

By 1900 the British city had been characterised as being:-

a) unhealthy

b) too big

c) morally evil

The solution was obviously to reduce the scale of urban agglomerations, make their environment more healthy, and encourage respectability. The first two could be directly achieved through physical processes, the third could not - it was hoped that morality and respectability and all the other virtues of Victorian society could be achieved via the consequences of the two physical planning processes plus a hotch-potch of untested social policies.

The answer of course, at this time, was seen as making the city as much as possible like the countryside. Villages and country market towns were certainly of more manageable proportions, and being relatively free from rapid

development and noxious industry they certainly had cleaner environments. The idealised 'rurified' urban forms which were conceived were in line with contemporary philosophical and literary sentiments.

However, more important than the bucolic cosiness of the English Romantic Movement, was the fact that the country town was the only other form of human residential aggregation which could be imagined as a replacement for the crowded industrial city. A step back into the past was inevitable as this was the only other form of which anyone had ever had any experience.

In 1898, Ebenezer Howard's book 'Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform', was published, and four years later a revised second edition entitled 'Garden Cities of Tomorrow'.[17] In these volumes Howard explained how the countryside could be brought into the town, via his model of 'The Garden City'. As Blowers notes, he was able to give "a remarkably precise description of Garden City".[18] It was to be circular in shape, with an optimum population of 32,000 in six sectoral wards. Civic buildings such as town hall, museum, library and hospital were to be situated at the centre, and surrounded by a large 'central park'. 'Houses and gardens' could be constructed beyond the park, but they would be split up by a wide 'grand avenue' which would also be circular and girdle the park. More local facilities such as schools and churches could be built within each ward in this 'grand avenue'. Industry, in the form of small factories would be on the outermost periphery of Garden City, adjoining a circular railway line. Boulevards like the spokes of a wheel would channel most traffic away from residential areas; and the whole city would be surrounded by agricultural land and various institutional establishments such as 'children's cottage homes' and 'asylums for blind and deaf'.

This 'dream city' led almost immediately to the formation of a Garden City Association to promote the concepts of the book, and eventually to a First Garden City Limited, who were to construct the first new town at Letchworth. Both Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City were inspired by Ebenezer Howard's ideas but neither attempted to fulfil his dream in detail. The Garden City Association also encouraged and advised other organisations upon the construction of villages to house workers for new factories, particularly ones far from established centres of population. The construction of the Foyles Estate at the head of Loch Ness by the British Aluminium Company is an example of this.[19] The building of new industrial villages began to spread in the early years of the twentieth century; Woodlands Colliery Village near Doncaster, and the village built by Birmingham Corporation for workers at its new waterworks in the Elan Valley both represented major investments of capital for the organisations concerned.[20]

Another influence upon early town planners was that of Patrick Geddes. He was a Professor of Biology, and emphasised the influence of the physical environment upon urban growth. In the tradition of the nineteenth century sociologists he also recognised that the city was an evolutionary form, and that more advanced and complex societies were creating more complex cities. This acceptance of change counterbalanced Howard's static harmonious Garden City. His work 'City Development. A study of parks, gardens and culture-institutes',[21] was first published in 1904; and although his influence was never as profound as that of Howard, he did "... induce people to think about the problems of city development and to do something about them in consequence."[22]

The first decade of this century also saw the growth of 'co-partnership societies' who raised money for private housing developments from both

investors and prospective tenants. The novelty of the new town 'Garden City' idea had caught on and could be translated into smaller versions. As Ashworth puts it -"...'suburban housing on garden-city lines' became the fashion."[23] Several of these 'co-partnership societies' were advocates of 'social mixture', whereby the deliberate provision of houses of varied size and rental, a more socially diversified community would be established. The Hampstead Tenants' Limited express this viewpoint in a description of what they wanted their Hampstead Garden Suburb to achieve:-

> "We desire to promote a better understanding between the members of the classes who form our nation. Our object therefore, is not merely to provide houses for the industrial classes. We propose that some of the beautiful sites round the Heath should be let to wealthy persons who can afford to pay a large sum for their land and to have extensive gardens."[24]

By 1905 many professional associations (the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Surveyors' Institute and the Association of Municipal and County Engineers) were pressing for the introduction of town planning in its own right, not as a mere consequence of the Public Health Acts. They were supported by the Association of Municipal Corporations, and in particular by several influential councillors, notably Nettlefold in Birmingham and Thompson in Richmond, Surrey.

The first town planning act became law in 1909, and although its terms were confused, and its significance was eclipsed by the start of the First World War in 1914 (and new legislation following the war); it is important in that it was an official recognition and a summation of attitudes and ideas which had been developing over the previous 30 years. To quote Cullingworth:[25]

"The movement for the extension of sanitary policy into town planning was uniting diverse interests. These were nicely summarised by John Burns, the President of the Local Government Board, when he introduced the first legislation bearing the term 'town planning' - the Housing, Town Planning, Etc. Act. 1909:-

> 'The object of the Bill is to provide a domestic condition for the people in which their physical health, their morals, their character and their whole social condition can be improved by what we hope to secure through this Bill. The Bill aims in broad outline at, and hopes to secure, the home healthy, the house beautiful, the town pleasant, the city dignified and the suburb salubrious.'"[26]

The town planning movement appears to have had five basic features, some of which were more prominent than others in various organisations and the works of various authors:-

i. Cities are too big, smaller urban areas are nicer places to live.

ii. Countryside and fresh air, together with better sanitation will improve the health of the populace

iii. The mixing of classes was a good thing, middle class virtues would 'rub-off' and lead to the betterment of the working classes.[27]

iv. Social problems could be solved by physical plans (always assumed but rarely actually stated).

v. New communities should be new entities; they should be independent and able to function as 'individual organisms'.

2.5 *American City Planning and the Measurement of Social Patterns within Cities*

By the 1920s the industrial supremacy of Great Britain had been eclipsed by the USA, which was experiencing a rate of urbanisation that England had encountered in the mid nineteenth century. Similar to Britain, a town planning profession began to develop in the USA over the first decades of the twentieth century. However, in America several newly-established academic institutions began to take an interest in the development of this new social phenomenon - the city. The theory and methodology which they developed for studying social aspects of the city had an impact upon American planning long before it was accepted by the British planning profession.

Gans[28] traced the development of physical planning in the USA over the same period, and believes that its origins can be traced to the missionary Protestant upper middle class reformers of the nineteenth century. He considers that these reformers held a 'facility-centred theory of social change' - that is, if people were given better facilities, they would not only give up their slums, but also change themselves for the better in the process. Especially since the facilities would be run by middle class people and their 'virtues' would rub-off onto the lower classes.

The planning profession in America grew out of requirements of early twentieth century Commissions which needed staff to consider what improvements could be made to building and local facilities. It attracted, as Gans noted, people who were already skilled at manipulating the physical environment - architects, engineers, etc.; and was for many years pervaded by the missionary zeal which Gans attributed to the nineteenth century reformers. Frederick Olmsted, for example, believed that man could only be truly healthy in rural surroundings, and so promoted the construction of huge parks in many American cities.

Around the same time, certain academics in America began to take an interest in city form and urban development. The focus of this work and for many of the studies which ensued, was the relatively recently-founded University of Chicago. In 1915, Robert Park published an inaugural work, 'The City: suggestions for the investigation of human behaviour in the urban environment.'[29] This acted as a catalyst to much of the thought and discussion going on within the several departments which made up the social sciences faculty; and soon afterwards, Albion Small (the head of the Sociology Department) called the whole faculty together "to propose that they all work on a common project - the city - and that they start their work at home,"[30] in Chicago. This was an ambitious scheme which involved people from several different disciplines - sociology, geography, anthropology, history, political science and economics, and which inevitably led to a cross-fertilisation of ideas.

From its inception the project drew heavily upon an analogy with the plant world. Park's own background (he was publicity man to Booker T Washington for several years) led him to consider the situation of the negro in American cities, and eventually to a recognition of the concentrations of different racial, ethnic and cultural groups in growing American cities. Terms such as 'competition', 'dominance', 'invasion' and 'succession' were borrowed from plant ecology to describe the processes which were thought to be in operation within large American cities.

The work of the so-called 'Chicago School of Sociology' is well documented elsewhere, along with the numerous criticisms of this 'classical ecological approach'.[31] Very briefly, the central tenet of the approach was that on the level of human activity - the biotic level of community - man inevitably acted in accordance with certain 'natural' forces similar to those applying to plants and animals. 'Competition' for space in plant communities was

translated into competition for desirable locations for residence or business, through the market system and land rental values. Businesses became segregated from residences, and the residences of rich people became segregated from those of the poor. Once a certain type of activity became 'dominant' in an area, it affected the totality of the environment in the same way that a certain species of tree might dominate its own environment by letting through a particular amount of sunlight and precipitation to ground level. The dominant activity or plant then 'controls' which other activities may take place, or which other plants may grow, in the same physical area. However, plants change the micro-environment in which they live, and over time, other plants may be able to 'invade' the plant community. This process of invasion continues until the new plant is dominant; and eventually this new dominant species is replaced by another in 'succession'.[32] This conception of 'invasion' and 'succession' was applied to areas within Chicago where first one ethnic group was dominant, then another and so on. According to Robson, "the value and the stimulus of the Park concepts was that they provided a holistic view of the mechanisms underlying the functioning of urban areas."[33]

Park, McKenzie and Zorbaugh all developed these ideas in the early 1920s, and linked them into the concept of the 'natural area', where such forces produced "a geographical unit distinguished both by its physical individuality and by the social, economic and cultural characteristics of its population".[34]

The ecological principles described above were given a spatial manifestation by Burgess in 1925 in his zonal model of city growth. For purposes of this discussion of the development of the concept of community, it will suffice to say that Burgess's model is important in that it gave a physical framework for description and analysis of 'natural areas' within cities. He recognised five concentric rings within Chicago - the innermost being based upon the ability of business activities only being able to afford the high

rental prices of the most accessible parts of the city; and the other four rings being determined by the relative prices which individuals could afford for residences which were newer and more desirable as one moves away from the city centre. Invasion and succession could be seen to be in active operation, not only between the rings, but also within each ring as one 'natural area' was invaded by people from an adjacent area who were of a different racial or ethnic origin.

Few cities have been subject to the same forces of population growth from the influx of different groups of foreign immigrants as were American cities in the first half of this century. However, the concept of a territorially-based, socially and geographically definable community has become embedded in town planning theory and practice.

In 1939, Hoyt developed a model of urban residential structure based upon sectoral growth, centred on the principle that high status residential areas tend to pre-empt the most desirable locations (for example along a ridge or a river) by the occupants being prepared to offer the highest prices for such land.

Harris and Ullman in 1945 modified the models of Burgess and Hoyt by suggesting a 'multiple-nuclei model' whereby although the city centre may offer the largest attraction, many smaller centres all have a pull or an influence of their own.

Developing from criticisms of the classical ecological approach for supposing that cultural processes could be separated from the study of man as an organic creature subject to the general laws of the organic world, Alihan (1938)[35] and Firey (1945)[36] attempted to explain urban residential segregation as a result of the sentimental and symbolic connotations which

certain parts of the city had for certain groups of its inhabitants.

2.6 *Co-ordination of Physical and Social Planning through the 'Neighbourhood Unit'*

Meanwhile, a body of theory was being developed which had direct practical applications for city planners and developers in the USA in the 1930s. This theory was the 'neighbourhood unit principle', and it offered town planners a simple formula whereby they could supposedly pursue desirable social goals via physical planning.

The origins of the neighbourhood unit concept are enshrined in the work of Cooley in the USA in the first decade of this century.[37] He proposed that primary, face-to-face contacts were crucial in the development of the human personality, and that groupings such as the extended family which foster the development of these direct social relationships, no longer formed spontaneously in large urban areas. The neighbourhood was seen as the channel by which municipal authorities could seek to strengthen the social bonds of city dwellers. By concentrating activities within a relatively small area, social interaction could assume greater depth and meaning for individuals involved, as compared with the anonymity which ensued when such multiple relationships were spread throughout the city. Perry synthesised several streams of thought concerned with physical, social and educational planning, in a monograph in 1929 entitled 'The Neighbourhood Unit'.[38] As Herbert[39] has recognised, the scheme he proposed was biased towards his own earlier work in the field on the wider use of school buildings and facilities, and the provision of recreational amenities within the community. Perry's system was based on six physical planning principles:-

i. a single centrally located elementary school, adequate to serve the needs of the total population of the neighbourhood (which could vary from 3000 to 10,000 people);

ii. the boundaries of the neighbourhood should define and separate it from the rest of the city;

iii. 10% of each neighbourhood should be open space in the form of playing fields and small parks, to meet the recreational needs of the population;

iv. the institutional buildings of the unit should include a school, a library, a club and a church, and should be grouped around a centrally situated square;

v. local shopping districts should be located on the edge of each unit so as to serve more than one neighbourhood; and

vi. the internal street pattern should be designed to divert through traffic from the neighbourhood, but its layout should focus around the centre of the unit.

However, the neighbourhood unit concept goes further than simply providing residential and institutional buildings for an area; it attempts to manipulate and relate each element of a physical plan in order to create a meaningful entity, and thus "to organise the physical form of a town so as to encourage the full development of community life".[40] The aim of fostering 'community life' was not directly introduced into the neighbourhood unit principle by Perry himself, but has developed as the concept has been modified over time.

As a self-contained small urban area, the neighbourhood unit bears a resemblance to the "Wards" of Ebenezer Howard's Garden City, and its application within Britain will be returned to in Chapter 4.

2.7 *Other Analyses of City Life in Inter-War America*

During the 1930s, the Chicago School pursued numerous research studies into aspects of city life in America, many of them financed through the New Deal. By the end of the decade, a wealth of information existed about urban life, and in 1938, Louis Wirth tried to assess these research findings systematically and generate a set of inter-related propositions about urban living. Like Perry's neighbourhood unit principle, Wirth's essay 'Urbanism as a Way of Life' was concerned with finding a 'solution' to the 'city problems' which had been so well documented over the previous 20 years.

Wirth did not offer any new information, he did not really offer any new theories; but he did organise his propositions into a powerful argument which had a strong influence upon social planning. He tried to assess the root of the trouble - the city itself; and in so doing to offer an explanation as to why loneliness, insecurity, crime, nervous breakdown, suicide, etc. seemed to be so much a part of city life. To do this, he had to isolate the elements which were essentially urban from those which were essentially non-urban. Wirth therefore tried to define urbanism as an opposite to 'ruralism'. He posed them as ideal types, and envisaged them as two ends of a continuum, with most of the population gradually moving towards the urban end. He picked out what he considered to be the key features of city life, the main ways in which it differed from rural society. Having done this he was then able to offer a brief sociological definition of the city which suited his purposes - "a city may be defined as a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals".[41]

Wirth's rural-urban continuum appears to be a direct sociological descendant of the mechanical solidarity - organic solidarity dichotomy of Durkheim; the traditional authority - rational legal authority ideas of Weber; and the 'gemeinschaft - gesellschaft' concept of Tonnies. However, his key elements of size, density and heterogeneity of city life are important in that 'solutions' offered to 'the problems of the city' in these terms can be translated into physical planning principles.

The sheer size of the city is its most obvious difference from its rural counterpart, the village. Wirth regarded size of population as a very important factor in city life, as the urbanite would have social contact with a great number of people. This, together with the higher rates of mobility in urban areas, would mean that 'secondary' relationships were dominant; only infrequently giving way to the 'primary' relationships that characterise traditional rural society.[42] In such circumstances Wirth concluded - "formal control mechanisms furnish the substitutes for the bonds of solidarity that are relied upon to hold a folk society together".[43] Wirth saw the urbanite as rationalising his acquaintances; using acquaintance with another person to achieve an end rather than as an end in itself. As relationships were secondary rather than primary, people could only meet others in certain roles, never as a full personality. In this way, although city contacts are face-to-face, they are "impersonal, superficial, transitory and segmental".[44] Wirth saw the indifference, sophistication and blase outlook so often exhibited by city dwellers, as being caused by this limited range of relationships.

'Density' was the second of Wirth's postulates, and although it is difficult to split up Wirth's theory, he did base several propositions on

the high density of population that typifies urban aggregates. Most of the points are tied to, and reinforce, those made about size of population. For instance, where density is very great, social relations can only be maintained by physical proximity being balanced out by social remoteness. Hence, another factor in the interpretation of the reserve and social isolation of city dwellers is that they forego intimacy by living very close together. Wirth states that close living is a major reason why urbanites do not develop sentimental or emotional attachments to their neighbourhoods, and why aggrandisement and a spirit of competition seem to predominate.

Wirth maintained that social interaction between heterogeneous individuals tends to break down caste lines and to "complicate class structure".[45] Thus, an urbanite is likely to experience fluctuating status, and so has to accept instability as a general characteristic of the world at large. To compensate for this lack of personal relations with similar types of people, city dwellers are forced to join various clubs and organisations; although high residential mobility tends to lead to a rapid turnover in such institutions and so make lasting acquaintances difficult. Wirth also explains that this lack of involvement with fellow residents usually means that an urbanite is "only rarely a true neighbour".[46]

Thus, there is a clear message for anyone wishing to make the lot of the city dweller a little easier - urban areas should be smaller, residential units should be built at a lower density, and homogeneity should be encouraged within defined residential areas. With the exception of the homogeneity principle,[47] this is precisely what town planners tried to achieve for over 25 years. Wirth's analysis will be considered in the following chapter in the light of empirical evidence of British community studies.

Other members of the Chicago School were studying different aspects of residence and territoriality. Shaw and McKay[48] for example, linked areas of residence, educational experience and criminal behaviour in their study of delinquent areas in Chicago in 1929. They found that densely populated slum districts (particularly those in new industrial areas) had high rates of juvenile delinquency, whilst the 'rooming-house' districts showed the highest rates for adult crime.

Also in the mid 1920s (though not directly connected to the Chicago School), Robert and Helen Lynd embarked upon what was the first modern community study. Their book 'Middletown'[49] was published in 1929, based upon their research in Muncie, Indiana. 'Middletown' represented typical small-town Midwest America, and the study happened as something of an accident. The Lynds had a background in anthropology, and had been asked to carry out a survey on religion. They found that they could not isolate the religious element from other social institutions in the area, and were thus drawn into a study which looked at the inter-relationship of institutions within one locality. As Bell and Newby state, "the Lynds found that the methods and approach of social anthropology to the study of primitive tribes could legitimately be applied to contemporary American community".[50]

'Middletown' opened up the field for many anthropologically-based studies of American communities in the 1930s and 1940s. The most ambitious of which was Lloyd Warner's 'Yankee City' project.[51] Following an initial study of Newburyport in New York State, Warner decided to attempt a comparison of an American community with other communities from all over the world. This was to be done with the techniques developed by early anthropologists such as Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, and would, it was hoped, lead to a taxonomy of all societies. His view of a community as a total system was

in line with the classical structural-functionalism developed and expressed by the early anthropologists. Warner noted that "the analogy of the organism was in our thinking when we looked at the total community of Yankee City and the various parts of its internal structure".[52]

The Yankee City project included studies of Australian aborigine society and an Irish peasant community. The latter was undertaken by two researchers from the Yankee City project, C H Arensberg and S T Kimball, and based upon the farming villages of County Clare. Their analysis of the community was published in 1940 under the title 'Family and Community in Ireland'.[53] They identified aspects of behaviour such as the preference for late marriage, the 'primogeniture' system of land inheritance, and the credit system operated by local grocery shops, as institutions which functioned so as to maintain the status quo and allow society to continue as normal.

Arensberg and Kimball's work was the first British Community study. Their influence, and that of Warner, is reflected in the structural-functionalist approach adopted in the early community studies undertaken by British researchers immediately before and after the Second World War in works such as Durant's 'Watling: A Survey of Social Life on a New Housing Estate' (1939)[54] and Rees' 'Life in a Welsh Countryside' (1950).[55]

1.8 *Conclusion*

The terms 'community' and 'neighbourhood' are assuming an increasing importance in British urban life. An empirical investigation of patterns of attitudes and behaviour at neighbourhood level must seek to understand the development and usage of these twin concepts. The preceding chapter

attempts to summarise the contributions of several nineteenth century social commentators and early twentieth century social anthropologists, but recognises that the roots of 'community' are also to be found in the development of policies and institutions, notably the town planning movement. Before considering in depth the post-war British community studies, it is necessary to reflect upon the developments in British planning during and just after World War Two. This is what Chapter 2 will seek to achieve.

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CHAPTER 2

COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD IN POST WAR BRITAIN

2.1 *Growth of the Planning Profession*

This chapter traces the development of notions of community attachment and neighbourhood identification in Britain, together with a resume of the emergence of policies designed to foster such assumed virtues in all residential developments.

Town planning, the profession which was to be called upon to make the link between theoretical studies of community, and the reality of people's everyday lives, made slow progress in Britain during the inter-war years. This was largely due to the lack of interest taken by the boroughs and urban districts with populations of over 20,000 in preparing town planning schemes, despite the 1919 Town Planning Act making this a compulsory requirement. A new Town and Country Planning Act in 1932 extended the time limit for the preparation of plans and extended the right of local authorities to draw up plans for any type of land. Although many municipalities were embarking upon considerable schemes of 'slum clearance' and construction of new housing estates, the opportunities for comprehensive town planning offered by the 1932 Act largely went unheeded.

Several authors were, by this time, beginning to question the wisdom of constructing new suburban housing estates, lacking in amenities and built far away from industrial areas and major locations of employment. McGonigle and Kirby[1] emphasised the monetary costs to individual families of housing, to travel and shops and to work, whilst Terence Young's study

of Becontree and Dagenham (1934)[2] and Ruth Durant's study of Watling (1939)[3] concentrated on the dearth of facilities and amusements on the new estates, and the consequent isolation and loneliness of residents. Mann summarised the attitudes current in the early 1940s which led to the creation of the Town Planning profession as it exists today:-

> "With the growing disillusionment about the suburbs as the panacea for all urban evils, there grew up the belief in larger scale planning and the planned development of new towns as more realistic ways of tackling urban planning problems. Housing unrelated to work was unrealistic, as was industry unrelated to resources, products and their transport. In time the idea gradually gained strength that 'town' planning was concerned with all the institutions of society and was not merely a drawing-board exercise in the lay-out of three-bedroomed, semi-detached houses in straight roads, cul-de-sacs and crescents."[4]

The Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population (the Barlow Commission) was set up to look at these problems and published its report - now known as the Barlow Report[5] - in 1940. Its principal conclusions were that[6]:-

1. Present urban and industrial development was creating depressed regions in some areas and 'over-swollen' cities in others.
2. This situation could not be tolerated, and had not been effectively tackled by pre-war town and country planning machinery.

3. The creation of new towns offered an effective possibility for the decentralisation of both people and jobs.
4. Local community activities should be more actively promoted in housing and planning.
5. A powerful central planning system was needed to achieve these aims.

Following the Barlow Report, other war-time government committees were set up to consider compensation payable after compulsory land purchase,[7] and the utilisation of land in rural areas;[8] and thereby to pave the way for the introduction of comprehensive planning machinery in Great Britain.

The war itself proved to be a great stimulus for this movement in three ways. Firstly, the destruction caused by German bombers in many British cities and towns meant that of necessity, the planning and reconstruction must be done on a comprehensive scale. Secondly, there was a resurgence of the type of feelings which produced the 'homes-fit-for-heroes' movement towards the end of the First World War. This was allied to a desire to achieve a balance of social classes in new housing developments and to lessen the gulf between rich and poor, between middle class and working class. Thirdly, the war taught people to accept a much greater degree of government intervention in their lives, and a greater amount of centralisation of power.

The wartime government reacted to these forces by creating a Ministry of Town and Country Planning in 1943, and introducing a Town and Country Planning (Interim Redevelopment) Act in 1944, which gave local authorities powers to enforce comprehensive redevelopment of bombed areas.

Also, in 1943, the Community Centres and Associations Survey Group of the National Council of Social Service published a report titled "The Size and Structure of a Town"[9]. This report had a profound influence upon later legislation and pioneered the development of 'community planning' or 'social planning' for the next 25 years. It recommended that:-

> "All development of housing policy should be based on the neighbourhood unit, regarded as a community with a maximum of about 2,000 dwellings, and thus comprising between 7,000 and 10,000 persons, and furnished with the communal facilities required for the full development of the life of the neighbourhood"[10].

It also reflected popular feeling of wishing to promote and encourage social balance within these new neighbourhood units. As Simmie[11] noted, they proposed that:-

> "In the interests of social variety, and in order to enable families of different backgrounds and experiences to continue to mix in peace-time as they are now mixing during war, each neighbourhood unit should be socially balanced, containing houses of different types and sizes inhabited by families belonging to different income groups".[12]

These views were reiterated the following year, in an official government publication, the Dudley Report[13], and thus became official government policy. However, although the neighbourhood unit had been incorporated into British town planning policy, Perry's original concept was modified by the Dudley Report. Goss[14] summarised these changes under three headings:-

i. the neighbourhood shopping district was to be located within the neighbourhood as part of the neighbourhood centre ;

ii. public open space was to be located on the edge of each neighbourhood unit to act as a boundary between neighbourhoods and further define (and isolate) each unit; and

iii. the American primary school tended to be a much larger institution than its British counterpart and in setting a target population of 10,000 people for each neighbourhood unit, the Dudley Report recognised that the units could not be based on the concept of a single elementary school as the core of the neighbourhood unit.

The neighbourhood unit principle found expression in many post-war housing schemes across the country, in the decade after the publication of the Dudley Report. One of them was the area chosen for the pilot survey of this study - the Ubberley-Bentilee neighbourhood unit in Stoke-on-Trent - and the practical implications of the acceptance of the neighbourhood unit principle will be considered within Chapter 4.

Shortly after the end of the war in 1945, the main instruments of town planning powers in Britain were finalised - the 1946 New Towns Act and the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. Both recognised the need for social planning in wishing to "aid in every way the full development of community life and enable a proper measure of social amenities to be provided"[15] as the Dudley Report had put it; but these two Acts were essentially concerned with the establishment of procedures and organisations capable of implementing the proposals that had abounded in the war-time reports.

The 1947 Town and Country Planning Act made the production of town plans a mandatory requirement of every planning authority; and gave them greater powers to affect land use patterns by making planning permission necessary for many types of development. It also gave local authorities the right to undertake development themselves, especially via the powers of compulsory purchase. This Act created a new profession, albeit one still dominated by people familiar with techniques of physical planning, such as architects, surveyors and engineers.

Blowers suggested three reasons why the neighbourhood unit scheme was adopted so widely in Britain for public housing developments:

> "First there was a reaction among planners and architects against the undifferentiated urban sprawl of the inter-war years. Second, the demand for council housing immediately after the Second World War offered an opportunity for experiment. Thirdly, it was felt that by attention to design and lay-out certain social objectives could be achieved. Community participation would be promoted by social balance and by the physical plan of the neighbourhood."[16]

Simmie was more scathing in his analysis of the acceptance of both the neighbourhood unit principle, and the notion of social balance. He described them as:

> "Primarily devices of administrative convenience....they provide a simplification of the complexities of social interaction in settlements which makes it easier for the town planner to attempt to forecast the demands for the future use of land and the other resources he is responsible for allocating."[17]

The acceptance of the neighbourhood unit principle and social planning goals, and the ascendancy of a planning profession well versed in physical planning techniques, was the context within which many sociologists were to explore the condition of British communities and social institutions during the 1950s and 1960s.

2.2 *Social Implications of the Spatial Arrangement of Housing*

Kuper was the first person to make a major study of a planned British neighbourhood unit, and to question assumptions made by town planners about the effects of physical lay-out upon social behaviour. At the request of Coventry Corporation, Kuper and others made a comprehensive study of a small residential area within a planned neighbourhood unit, Houghton. The area they chose was the Braydon Road unit, which consisted of 90 identical steel-frame, semi-detached houses, arranged in a series of cul-de-sacs. The first tenants had only moved in two years previously, and it was felt to be small enough to allow social relationships to be analysed in depth, and the influence of physical design to be isolated and evaluated. The result of this research was published in 1953, in a book titled "Living in Towns"[18]. The section on the Braydon Road study is called "Blueprint for Living Together", although several minor studies are included in the same volume.

Kuper's analysis of Braydon Road has greatly influenced the approach adopted by this present study, and thus merits a fairly detailed description.

Kuper considered that:

> "Implicit in all Town Planning is some theory of the influence of physical structure on the behaviour of residents. If this is rejected then Town Planning is quite meaningless....town planners operate with a theory of physical determinism, and this is made explicit by protagonists of the community ideal in the planning of urban neighbourhoods. They rely on their control of the physical environment to promote community or neighbourhood spirit by two means; first, the clear demarcation of the area as a separate entity by the use of barriers, such as railway lines, parks and highways, on the assumption that the physical unity will engender in the residents a perception of social unity, the feeling that they belong together; and second, the arrangement of houses, and the siting of service units, so as to increase opportunity for acquaintance between the residents."[19]

The theme of the study was the relationship between the physical and social structures, and in particular the planned and unplanned consequences of street lay-out and house design upon neighbourhood relations. A distinction is drawn between 'party neighbours' or audial neighbours, who occupy the semi on the other side of the dividing wall; and 'side neighbours' or visual neighbours who live next door on the other side, across the footpath which runs between adjacent properties. There was a tendency for 'side neighbours' to engage in more neighbourly activities (visiting, borrowing/lending etc.) than 'party neighbours'. However, there was certainly no discernible pattern to such behaviour, and 'personality factors' appeared to be more influential in determining the level and intensity of neighbouring activities. This led Kuper to conclude that:

> "The siting factors, with their planned and unplanned consequences only provide a potential base for neighbourly relations. There is no simple mechanical determination by the physical environment. The extent to which the awareness of neighbours will develop into active social relationships depends on the characteristics of the residents, their attitudes to neighbouring, their status aspirations and their general compatibility."[20]

This conclusion leads the study into an examination of the population characteristics of the 90 households which comprised Braydon Road. The policy of giving priority to young couples with children on the housing list meant that 80% of the households had children of pre-school and/or primary school age. Thus, the majority of families were in the same stage in the life-cycle, sharing similar interests, facing similar problems, etc. 75% of the men were employed in the motor, motor accessory, general and electrical engineering industries, whilst very few of the women were engaged in any type of paid employment. However, the homogeneity of the age and occupation structures of the Braydon Road unit was contrasted with the diversity in home backgrounds and places of origin of the residents. Only 33% of the households contained adults who were born in Coventry. This had an important consequence upon neighbouring activities:

> "Some say that their fellow-Coventrians, having friends and relatives in the city, will not bother with neighbours, while the out-of-towner is more dependent on local friendships."[21]

Nine people made no reference to looking to neighbours for mutual help in times of crisis, eight of these were Coventry-born with relatives living in other parts of the city.

Kuper discovered that many of the Coventry-born men in Braydon Road often went back to public houses in their previous residential areas on a Sunday afternoon to drink and meet friends and relatives. A whole section of their interview schedule was based upon the comparison of Houghton to previous neighbourhoods in which the respondents had lived.

The women residents were asked a series of questions relating to their attitudes towards neighbours and neighbouring. The questions were phrased in an open-ended fashion, so as to avoid only examining preconceived aspects of neighbouring. Women only mentioned facets of neighbouring which they themselves considered important. By post-coding these responses, Kuper hoped to 'indirectly' elicit their attitudes to neighbouring in general and avoid the personalisation of issues and opinions.

The overall attitude towards respectability and privacy appeared to be crucial in determining patterns of neighbouring, and this led Kuper to "...classify informants on the basis of the extent to which their responses indicate open or restricted channels for relationships with neighbours."[22] Responses to questions on borrowing and lending, visiting and the definition of a 'good neighbour' produced a four-fold classification of 'sociable', 'moderate', 'reserved', and 'extreme reserve'. Attitudes towards other subjects, such as noise, and the appearance and behaviour of children, appear to correspond to this classification. Kuper made the interesting observation that the overall response to living in Braydon Road for households at both ends of the 'respectability' spectrum,

was the same - they wanted to move away. The ultra respectable saw the place as a slum and believed that their esteem was diminished by living there. If they could not control their neighbours' noise, or stop their own children from mixing with other 'rough' children who lived on the street; the only ultimate solution was for them to move from the area. Similarly the 'very sociable' residents regarded their neighbours as looking down upon them as being 'coarse' or 'common' when they were simply trying to be friendly. For them also, the solution was seen as moving to a more 'friendly' estate where their behaviour would be tolerated.

The distinction between 'rough' and 'respectable' or 'sociable' and 'reserved' dominates the analysis and conclusions of the study. All 87 respondents who completed all the interviews, were classified as 'respectable' or 'ordinary' according to their responses to particular questions and to an assessment made by the fieldworker upon their standard of house care and personal cleanliness.[23] 42 informants were deemed 'respectable' and the remaining 45 'ordinary'. Then, by posing a series of questions related to who neighbouring activities are with, Kuper substantiated his proposition that "residents tend to select their own type"[24] for social relationships.

Turning to the provision of amenities in the area Kuper made a study of the membership of a Social Club and a Community Centre which had recently opened in the Houghton area. Membership of the Social Club, which supported activities for the whole family, declined steadily with distance from the club premises. However, the membership of the Community Centre, which catered almost exclusively for adult activities, did not decline in such a regular fashion. Thus, proximity was not the sole criterion

in determining participation in the Community Centre. Kuper postulated that such an amenity might attract 'sociable' residents from a far greater distance than 'respectable' ones. Similarly, the Houghton shopping centre was frequented far more often by 'rough neighbours' - the 'reserved' ones apparently did not like queuing and being pulled into conversation with their rougher fellow residents.

Kuper also noted that planners try to encourage neighbourliness by providing a full range of amenities, but in some situations such provision can positively discourage the formation of such intimate neighbourly bonds. For example, support from the state via medical services and home help services means that there is less need for neighbours to help one another in times of crisis.

In the conclusion - the actual 'blueprint for living together' - Kuper links his propositions and findings into the general sociological theory of his day, and tries to consider the implications of the study for town planners. He likens the attitudes of his "very sociable" residents to Tonnies concept of gemeinschaft, and the relationships and aspirations of his 'reserved' or 'respectable' neighbours to gesellschaft. 'Sociable' residents expect a certain level of sociability and mutual aid from fellow residents and thus in their terms 'neighbour' is an 'ascribed role'. Whereas 'reserved' residents make a moral evaluation of the behaviour of fellow residents, and only if they meet up to certain criteria of comparability will friendly neighbourly relationships ensue. In this sense 'neighbour' is an 'achieved role'. Kuper translates this analysis into a prescription for town planning:

> "Where a population is characteristically reserved and respectable, the social or town planner will need to rely on formal, specifically focussed and purposive organisation. If, however, the population tends to the more rough and sociable pole, then the basis of community structure may be found also in the informal, diffuse, self-expressive interaction of the residents." [25]

The study concludes by criticising planners for designing neighbourhoods "for a common denominator of basic human needs, for anonymous clusters of attitudes."[26] Their final suggestion is "to shift the emphasis from the physical determinism of the expert bureaucratic plan to the activities of the residents themselves."[27]

2.3 *The Contribution of British Community Studies of the 1950s and 1960s*

Kuper was in fact one of the first of many authors to investigate 'sociological aspects' of community and neighbourhood, and to conclude by telling town planners 'what to do' to achieve certain desired situations or to avoid others. It became 'de rigeur' for community studies to offer a rather perplexed planning profession an explanation of the sociological consequences of their physical plans, and to suggest manipulations of these plans which might 'solve' certain 'urban problems'. Some of these studies were focussed upon certain institutions (such as the family, or work) within specific localities, whilst others attempted to examine the inter-relations of all social institutions within a pre-defined area.

It would be fruitless to attempt to describe in detail all the major community studies of this period, certainly not in the depth which Kuper's work has been discussed. However, these community studies, together with

certain other sociological works of the period, indicated that there were many subtle, but very important, ways in which British society was changing during the 1950s and 1960s. It will be useful to extract from these studies, the trends which appear to have had a spatial impact upon 'the way people lived'; and later, to consider how (if at all) this knowledge has filtered down into contemporary planning policies of this same period.

In the tradition of Arensberg and Kimball's study of County Clare,[28] several British community studies were concerned with relatively isolated rural areas or country towns. Rees' essay on a parish in Montgomeryshire[29] in 1950 was perhaps the first. His work was continued by Williams with studies of Gosforth[30] in 1956, and 'Ashworthy'[31] in Devon in 1963. All had a strong structural-functionalist tone; 'Ashworthy' for example was described as a system of small family farms in 'dynamic equilibrium', and reacting to threats posed by population decline and smaller families by re-emphasising bonds of kinship and maintaining the system in equilibrium. Frankenberg also made a study of a small village, Glynceriog in central Wales in 1957.[32] However, Frankenberg's Marxist orientation led him to consider conflict situations within the isolated community and how they were resolved. In analysing the motivations and aspirations of individuals and groups within the village, Frankenberg was able to explain how social control was exercised and why institutions such as the local football team assumed major importance in the life of the village. Frankenberg's study was novel in Britain in that it accredited individual actors with certain aspirations, and judged their behaviour in terms of attempts to achieve certain goals. This is to be contrasted to the 'organic approach' where individuals behave rather like blades of grass in reacting to changes in the physical environment in an inevitable and automatic manner.

Many of the urban community studies of the late 1950s and early 1960s were concerned with new residential areas, particularly new working class housing estates, and how these new physical environments tended to produce certain personal and social problems. The forerunner of these works was Durant's study of Watling in Middlesex published in 1939. The first residents moved into Watling in 1927, and ten years on, Durant asked the question "has the new housing estate grown into a community?"[33] In more general terms, she was investigating a concern which many people of that era had expressed, namely, why is there so much discontent, loneliness and vandalism amongst relatively affluent workers' families living in new houses?

Durant's analysis of Watling at that time focussed upon the lack of amenities on the estate, particularly the lack of amenities for wives and children who spent a higher proportion of their time on the estate. The combination of many people moving into an area and not previously knowing one another, and the lack of local jobs and meeting places, led to a social isolation not previously experienced by many working-class people in the inter-war years. A Residents Association was formed in 1928, and through its own local paper "The Resident" (which purported to be 'the voice of Watling'),[34] was able to focus attention of local people upon the lack of amenities on the estate, and present a response to the threat posed by middle class people living nearby. However, by the time the Residents' Association had succeeded in its attempt to get a community centre built, the ice had already been broken and a nascent form of community spirit had already developed. According to Durant, it was the realisation by Watling residents that they shared common problems, which had led to the 'growth of local consciousness'.[35] If a community centre was to function as an integrating force in the development of the community, then it should be one of the first public buildings to be constructed and not the last.

It is interesting to consider Durant's "practical lessons for the drafting of plans for new estates",[36] which she offered in the introduction to her book, and which were echoed by many other authors in many other ways over the following 30 years:

"1. Social facilities should be included.
2. Attention should be paid to the nature of neighbouring industries
3. The estate should be given an opportunity to grow into a unit of local government.
4. Varied types of dwellings should be built to accommodate families in different stages of their existence.
5. The younger generation should not be prevented from settling down at the place where they have grown up."[37]

Young and Willmott in their famous work 'Family and Kinship in East London"[38], contrasted a new outer-London council housing estate, which they called 'Greenleigh'[39], with the inner-London borough of Bethnal Green, where many of the Greenleigh residents had previously lived. The new estate exhibited many of the social problems described by Durant in Watling, 20 years earlier. Loneliness and depression were common amongst the women, and vandalism and truancy amongst the estate children. The Greenleigh residents suffered this social isolation not only because they did not know one another, but also in that they were now physically distant from the close-knit life style which they were used to. By describing life in Bethnal Green, Young and Willmott highlighted just what it meant for daughters to be separated from the support offered by their mothers, and for men to be denied the plethora of informal local meeting places around which they had grown up. Distance from relatives and friends meant that

the Greenleigh inhabitants had to break the habits of a life time, and as Young and Willmott suggest, replace them with a new life style. Friendship with neighbours could never offer an effective substitute for the intimate local ties developed over a lifetime. In Bethnal Green, people were known by their past actions and family membership. In Greenleigh, there was an absence of knowledge of neighbours' earlier lives or the significance of their family, and thus people could only be judged by physical characteristics - status was 'achieved' rather than 'ascribed' in the Weberian sense. According to Young and Willmott, this, together with new aspirations accompanying a new house led to a home-centredness throughout the estate. People were scared of being rebuffed by neighbours, and the display of new belongings was one of the few ways for them to be assured of enhancing their status amongst local residents. This in turn could be interpreted as aloofness or snobbishness and the spiral of social isolation and loneliness continued.

The major criticisms in the planning of Greenleigh which Young and Willmott made after their study were:-

a) The lack of informal meeting places, especially corner shops and public houses
b) The absence of three-generation families caused by the uniformity of 'family' houses, and the LCC policy of re-housing inner London residents in preference to married children of Greenleigh residents.
c) The severity of the break with old social patterns occasioned by the high cost of travelling into Central London.

The social problems caused by a break with the past on moving into a new housing estate, are exacerbated if there is already an established local population resentful to the newcomers. Such a situation was described by Elias and Scotson in their work 'The Established and the Outsiders'.[40] In their study of 'Winston Parva' in Leicestershire in 1959/60, they

identified three housing zones. Zone 1 was an owner-occupied, middle class residential area; zone 2 an old area of working class houses interspersed with factories; and zone 3 a new council housing estate. Although similar in economic status and demographic characteristics, the inhabitants of zones 2 and 3 differed in one important respect - the residents of zone 2 had lived there for many years, whilst the families in zone 3 were non-locals, they had moved into the area in response to an expansion in local employment in manufacturing industries. The 'outsiders' had come from all over Britain and exhibited attitudes and behaviour patterns unfamiliar to the'established' residents of zones 1 and 2. Furthermore they were unable to exercise social control over anti-social families in their area through gossip and rejection.

In the established parts of the town, however, social norms had evolved over many years - everyone 'knew their place' in the community and acted accordingly. When they judged the newcomers by their own standards they found them to be lacking in many respects. They denigrated the 'outsiders' by identifying them by the 'minority of the worst': that is, the 'bad families' in zone 3 were seen as characteristic of the whole area. On the other hand they saw their own parts of the town in terms of its 'best' residents, those individuals or families who were held in great esteem.

Because the zone 3 inhabitants had no common norms and could not regulate the behaviour of the 'bad families', they had no immunity to the rumours and low status inferred upon them by the 'established' residents. The 'outsiders' were thus hindered in developing a community identity or community spirit, and this manifested itself in 'keep themselves to themselves' attitudes still exhibited some 20 years after the construction

of the new estate. This state of anomie which appeared to be prevalent in the area, was cited by Elias and Scotson as a principal reason why the rootless juveniles in zone 3 exhibited relatively high levels of delinquent behaviour.

Unlike other 'community studies' of the period, 'The Established and the Outsiders' did not offer a 'solution' for town planners. Elias and Scotson did, however, show that statistics could tell one little about the situation in Winston Parva, one can only understand it by setting the 'configuration' of people and events in its historical context.

The situation described in Watling, Greenleigh and Winston Parva zone 3 became accepted as typical of new housing estates, particularly council housing estates. Depression, truancy, loneliness, vandalism, lack of community identity and probable lack of amenities were problems which seemed to beset most 'new' residential areas, and were immortalised in the 1960s by journalistic expressions such as 'new town blues' or 'transportation trauma'. Were these problems a simple reflection of the newness of the area?, or did they reflect a more fundamental social change in British society? Although the answer was obviously a combination of the two, many community studies clarified the elements and offered an opportunity to assess which social problems may disappear in time, and which will not.

Willmott, in a study of Dagenham[41] roughly 30 years after the construction of most of the houses, was able to assess how many 'problems' had disappeared with time. The problems which beset the estate soon after it was completed were lack of local industry, inadequacy of schools, scarcity of

public halls, poor public transport and not enough local shops. However, these deficiencies were gradually rectified and the problem of social isolation apparently diminished over time. Life-styles appeared to be very similar to contemporary traditional working class areas such as Bethnal Green. The re-establishment of three-generation families, and the development of 'easy-going terms' amongst neighbours led Willmott to state that "Dagenham is East London reborn."[42] In other words, length of residence was seen as the crucial factor in the formulation of a community identity.

Other community studies of the 1950s and 1960s examined the development of certain social institutions, particularly 'the family', in modern Britain. For these studies the actual area was more of a laboratory for observing social change than a subject of interest in itself.

Young and Willmott's description of life in Bethnal Green in 'Family and Kinship in East London'[43] was accepted as the 'classic' portrayal of a 'traditional working class' life style, against which many other community studies were set.[44] The predominance of the extended family, and reliance upon kin for social and financial support were central features in the life-style they described. Bethnal Green was a 'stable' working class area, most people had lived there all their lives, and mothers were often able to 'speak for' their daughters to obtain rented accommodation nearby for them after marriage. Local shops and public houses acted as meeting places where informal bonds of friendship and acquaintance were strengthened. The relative prosperity of local industry meant that fathers were often able to secure jobs for their sons in the same workplace. People were known in many roles, and judged on past

experience rather than on their present behaviour. The cosiness and informality of life in Bethnal Green shattered the myth created by Wirth (and others) that urban life must always be anonymous and based on formal contractual relationships. The 'urbanism' described by Wirth was obviously an early form of 'urbanism', which had finally blossomed after many generations in British working class areas. Alas, no sooner had the 'traditional working class' life style been identified than it was irreversibly altered by social and economic forces - as will be described later in this chapter.

Rosser and Harris[45] studied kinship patterns across a whole city, Swansea, and like Young and Willmott discovered that the support offered by the extended family was a crucial aspect in the lives of many of their subjects. They also found that most people had relatives living nearby, and that the mother-daughter link seemed particularly important. Rosser and Harris also suggested that family relationships were often broken by physical separation (even living just a few miles apart) and by social separation (that is, when the children are socially mobile).

Other studies concentrated upon kinship patterns in middle class areas - notably Young and Willmott's[46] study of Woodford, and Firth, Hubert and Forge's[47] work in Highgate and the Greenbanks Estate in North London. They all suggested that extended family relationships were not as important to middle class people, principally because they were more financially independent. Middle class people also appeared to be more selective in retaining ties with relatives, and distance was not such an impediment to regular contact. Similarly, they did not make such a

distinction as working class people between relatives and neighbours. They were far more likely to invite friends and neighbours into their own homes. In fact, the higher up the social ladder a family happens to be, the less local will be its perspectives. Margaret Stacey recognised this in her study of Banbury, Oxfordshire. She described the upper classes of Banbury as belonging to a national community, "with the West End of London as its 'town centre', The Times as its local paper, and certain national events, eg Ascot as its focal points."[48]

Although the 'community studies' mentioned above were important in their own right, there were certain problems that had to be faced in assessing their significance either to sociological thought or to practical planning implications. Such studies sometimes told you more about the orientations of the researcher, rather than the locality 'researched', particularly if participant observation methods were used. The studies were fixed in time, and essentially non-replicable and non-comparable. Because they were fixed in time, it was difficult for them to describe change. Finally, even when the original focus of study was one particular institution (for example, Margaret Stacey set out to study the industry of Banbury), the researcher was usually led into a consideration of a host of other social factors operating in the same area. For these reasons it is perhaps worthwhile to briefly consider certain other sociological works of the period alongside the 'community studies'.

2.4 *Other Aspects of Social Change in Post War Britain*

The social consequences of moving house were described, and became recognised as an important element of social change in Britain in the 1960s. Musgrove referred to migration as "a neglected revolution",[49]

and drew attention to the close link between physical migration and upward social migration. Ambitious people have to change job and home frequently if they wish to achieve a higher social status. This in itself produces various social and psychological problems, and in effect selects out the 'fittest' people as a 'migratory elite'. Getting to know new people becomes important, and, as in Young and Willmott's Woodford "... sociability becomes a sort of professionalism. To get on well people have to some extent to put on a front of bonhomie."[50] Bracey[51] made a comparative study of attitudes to neighbours on an English housing estate and an American sub-division. As with Musgrove's study it was the socially mobile who moved house more frequently. The biggest contrast, however, was that the American sub-division displayed more signs of neighbourliness albeit a shallow neighbourliness. Bracey indicated that one of the significant factors behind this fact, was that in America there were many formal and informal organisations whose activities, consciously or unconsciously, helped to make newcomers feel at home in the new neighbourhood."[52] Highly mobile American society apparently had no time for aloofness or neighbours slowly getting to know one another. Perhaps such organisations could encourage community development in Britain? Alas, as Bracey noted, Englishmen seldom invite neighbours into their homes; their traditional suspicion of neighbours appeared to be too strong. However, Bracey did postulate that increasing physical mobility (both in terms of car ownership and home ownership) may encourage such attitudes and organisations in Britain.

The late 1950s/early 1960s also saw the rise in Britain of a theory of social change which postulated that many working class people were becoming middle class.[53] This theory sometimes called the 'embourgeoisement thesis', was based upon the rise in wages in certain manufacturing

industries, and the consequent availability of a range of consumer durables. Ownership of certain commodities, such as motor cars and televisions, together with home ownership, was seen as an attempt to acquire high status-inferring possessions, manifest à change in behaviour and show a desire to aspire to a middle class way of life. Goldthorpe and others[54] examined the various themes of embourgeoisement through a study of well-paid workers in Luton in the early 1960s. They contended that changes in patterns of consumption did not represent an aspiration for a middle-class way of life. Patterns of social behaviour (such as frequency of inviting neighbours into the home) and of voting behaviour of the 'affluent workers' in the study corresponded quite closely to traditional working class life styles. In any case the 'traditional working class' way of life was changing so rapidly as to nullify the status-inferring effects of 'middle class' acquisitions. Goldthorpe et al suggested that there may be a convergence of life styles of certain 'affluent workers' and certain lower status white collar workers, but this did not constitute a form of embourgoisement. Rather, it was the creation of a new life style in response to new circumstances.

The acceptance of the notion that changes in consumer behaviour do not constitute an aspiration to become middle class, has been important in our understanding of the growth of 'consumerism' in the 1960s and 1970s. National chains of shops selling standardised products have led to a convergence of patterns of consumption between social groups and between geographical regions. The growth in car ownership has increased personal mobility enormously for many households. Increase in ownership of television sets has led to fewer people seeking entertainment outside

the home. In total, many of these changes seem to have brought about greater independence and more home-centredness amongst many working-class households.

The work of Bott did much to clarify many of the observations of changes in family relationships and life styles which were made during the 1960s. Bott set out "to understand the social and psychological organisation of some urban families",[55] and, as she pointed out, was really investigating 'marriage' rather than 'family' - children were only important in understanding more about the relationship between husband and wife. Bott gave a precise description of her methodology and field techniques, and took pains to explain that the contribution of her book lay in its interpretations, not its descriptions or statistical reliability.[56] In her study she tried to develop hypotheses rather than test them. She conducted interviews in depth with 20 couples, who were an example of urban families not a representative sample.

Bott proposed that there were three types of family organisation:[57]

(a) Complementary organisation where the activities of husband and wife are different but fitted together to form a whole

(b) Independent organisation where husband and wife performed separate activities without reference to each other

(c) Joint organisation in which activities were carried out by husband and wife together or the same activity carried out by either partner at different times.

Although all three types of organisation exist in all families, the amount of each type differs from family to family. By this analysis,

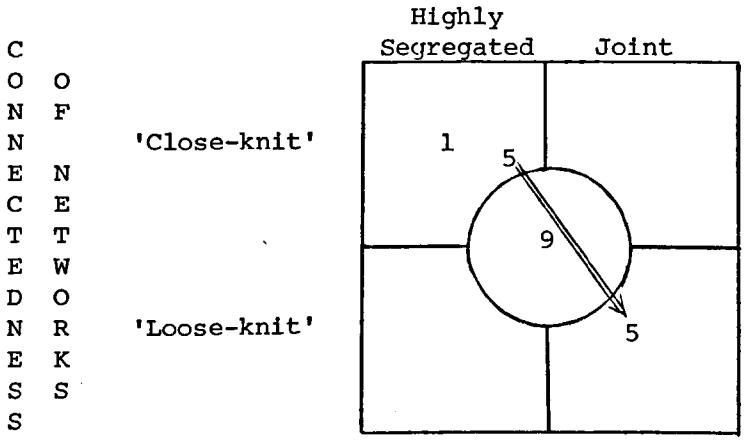
Bott was able to describe 'conjugal roles relationships', as varying from 'highly segregated' (where 'complementary' and 'independent' forms of organisation are dominant) through 'intermediate' to 'joint' (which is high in 'joint' organisation).[58]

Bott then considered that the degree of segregation in role-relationships may be due to either social class, or social homogeneity of local area; but her research led her to dismiss both suggestions. She believed that a more fruitful approach would be to look at "the immediate environment of the families, that is, at their actual external relationships with friends, neighbours, relatives, clubs, shops, places of work, and so forth."[59] Individuals known to a family formed a 'social network' in which some members had social contact with others. (As opposed to an 'organised group' where all members would be known to one another). This led Bott to propose that there would be considerable variation in the connectedness of these networks and that such connectedness may be related to the degree of conjugal role-relationships. A close-knit network was one in which many friends, neighbours and relatives of the nuclear family knew one another independent of the family concerned. A 'loose-knit' network was one in which such social contacts between people known to a family, were rare.

Bott's central hypothesis was that "the degree of segregation in the role-relationship of husband and wife varies directly with the connectedness of the family's social network."[60] In other words, the more connected the network, the greater the degree of segregation between the roles of husband and wife.

Of the four possible combinations of 'segregation of conjugal roles' and 'connectedness of networks', Bott found that two were not represented in any of the 20 families she interviewed. Only six of the families conveniently fitted into the other two categories, nine were intermediate, and five were transitional:-

CONJUGAL ROLES



Bott went on to describe the four groups into which her families fell:

1. Highly segregated conjugal role-relationships associated with 'close-knit' networks.

   This is characterised by male authoritarianism in finance, and a mother-centred home. 'Men have friends, women have relatives and neighbours' is a typical attitude. Many people fill two or more of the roles of friend, neighbour, relative, work colleague. The local area has strong community ties (like Bethnal Green) with few social relationships extending to people living outside the area.

2. Joint conjugal role-relationships associated with 'loose-knit' networks.

   The husbands of the five families in this group all had professional, semi-professional or clerical occupations; the jobs themselves had little or nothing to do with the local area in which they lived. These families often went outside the area for services of doctors or dentists, and most friends were

drawn from outside the neighbourhood. Joint entertainment of friends was the major form of recreation, and relatives often lived a distance away and were not in close contact. Family friends rarely knew one another, and husbands were expected to provide the help with the domestic chores which wives in the previous category got from female relatives.

3. Intermediate segregation in role-relationships and 'medium-knit' networks.

   These families often came from backgrounds where a medium degree of connectedness of social networks was the norm. There was some overlapping of roles, but their local areas could not be described as 'closely-knit' communities. Many neighbours knew one another and there was not as much concern with privacy as compared to those families with 'loosely-knit' networks.

4. Transitional.

   All transitional families were moving from 'close-knit' to 'loose-knit' networks, and from segregated to joint conjugal role-relationships. Three families had moved from 'close-knit' areas and were adapting to a new life-style; whilst the other two had been upwardly socially mobile and had made a decision to break links with some former acquaintances.

It is in her description and analysis of the families 'in transition' in which Bott's work is most revealing. When couples are physically or socially mobile they have to look to one another more for emotional support. More emphasis is thrown upon the nuclear family and the couple's

social network becomes more 'loosely-knit'. Home and family become more important and more joint organisation of conjugal affairs is necessary to 'run' home and family life efficiently. Thus, home-centredness may not only be an aspiration towards a more 'consumer-orientated' life style, but also the inevitable product of a restructuring of relationships within the family in response to a change of job or house move.

2.4 *The Reaction of Government Policy to Social Change and Recognition of the Importance of Community Cohesion*

Simultaneous in the 1950s and 1960s with these social studies and examinations of social change within British society, were a range of technological innovations which produced vast physical changes over much of urban Britain. In particular, technological changes in the building and construction industry allowed developments on a scale hitherto unknown in this country. The new techniques themselves were in fact one of several causal factors behind the building boom of this era, as several authors have pointed out.[61] Many industrial cities still had large areas covered by nineteenth century housing, usually privately rented and often in poor condition. These areas were universally condemned as 'slums' and rehousing was seen as the ultimate answer to the problems of slum-dwellers. Demolition and construction of new houses was nothing new, but economies of scale and the use of pre-cast concrete as a building material allowed huge areas to be pulled down and rebuilt. Also, for the first time the organisation, administration and statutory powers existed for such large scale redevelopment to take place; and many town planners and architects had nurtured such notions for many years. Finally, the economy was booming, and there were ample public funds to finance such expensive schemes. Privately rented accommodation was seen

as something of a social evil in itself, and the proportion of Britain's population living in council-owned accommodation grew from 12% in 1947 to 26% in 1961.

The changes to British cities over this period, particularly the growth of high-rise flats and offices, are well known and do not need to be repeated in this work. Social problems associated with the 'new town blues' of the 1950s and 1960s were rediscovered amongst occupants of high-rise flats in the 1960s and 1970s. Vandalism, loneliness, depression, inadequate play facilities and lack of community spirit were no longer the monopoly of suburban or new town housing estates. Demolition of vast areas of old housing was seen to lead to the 'breaking-up' of communities. The planners themselves came in for a lot of the blame and were often ridiculed by journalists and academics alike. For example, Broady[62] told architects that architectural determinism by itself was bad; social administration needs to be manipulated to achieve 'social objectives'. Similarly, Perraton asked, what is the 'sense of belonging' or 'community spirit' which planners try to encourage? She considered five ways in which planners try to promote a 'sense of community' usually by maximising both formal and informal contacts or by providing a range of local amenities. She concluded that"the effects of the provision of community facilities upon local attachment and neighbourly relations are difficult to evaluate"[63] - a high incidence of 'contacts' does not necessarily promote community life. Furthermore, she attacked the planning profession as a whole in stating that "It is beyond the planners' legitimate task to decide that particular social patterns are superior or desirable, and should therefore be encouraged."[64]

These criticisms, together with a downturn in the economy and lack of public money and a collapse in the property finance market led to a new approach to rehousing -'urban renewal'. Many of the properties which had been demolished in the 1960s were not as 'unfit for habitation' as had been made out. With certain improvements and refurbishments they could be brought up to contemporary building standards and given a guaranteed 'life expectancy' of at least another 30 years. Consequently, certain urban areas were identified where all such houses could be brought up to these standards , and declared as General Improvement Areas (GIAs). Extra grants were made to owner-occupiers or landlords of properties in the area to improve the houses themselves, or in certain circumstances local authorities were encouraged to purchase the houses and improve them. A certain amount of money was also made available to carry out minor environmental improvements (usually traffic schemes or soft landscaping) to make the areas more attractive places to live in. Each GIA would only include around 200-400 houses and such piecemeal improvement would not have such a drastic effect on the community. Furthermore, the residents would continue to live in the same house after improvement and social contacts would not be broken. Local shops and pubs would not be demolished and could continue to function as local meeting places. Most important of all, the cost of improving each dwelling unit would be a small proportion of the cost of creating a new dwelling unit (even a flat in a high rise block).

The GIA policy was extended to areas in which certain social problems had been identified in addition to the physical problems of a run-down housing stock. These areas are known as Housing Action Areas (HAAs) and improvement grants available were to cover an even higher proportion of the cost of the refurbishments.

Urban renewal was not undertaken by town planners alone, but usually in teams of professionals along with people who have expertise in housing, public health, social welfare, health and education. Community development became a corporate exercise, and planners were able to share the responsibility of 'planning' a community.

In a way, many of the social and community studies described earlier in this chapter, have found expression in modern planning practice. However, the time lag in incorporating knowledge concerning social change into planning policies and programmes, is obviously much greater than the time in utilising the latest technological changes.

Chapter 3 will attempt to describe further development of neighbourhood and community theory and practice, and will lead in to the precise aims and objectives of this study.

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CHAPTER 3

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY: AND THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL ANTECEDENTS OF THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 *Introduction*

Before describing the purposes and objectives of the project, it is necessary to set the framework of the study within the context of contemporary knowledge of the processes underlying urban life and the identification of urban sub-areas, 'communities' and neighbourhoods'. To achieve this, chapter 3 is divided into three parts. The first part concerns what could loosely be termed the geographical antecedents of the study. In particular, it describes the development of various mathematically sophisticated techniques for identifying and describing urban sub-areas; together with criticisms of these approaches, and the construction of certain behavioural techniques with which geographers have examined small urban areas. The second part of this chapter is concerned with the sociological antecedents of the project, although it is accepted that the division between 'geographical' and 'sociological' aspects of knowledge of the functioning of sub-areas within cities, is rather arbitrary since the disciplines of urban geography and urban sociology contain considerable areas of overlap. This second part develops the more recent discussions upon the nature of 'community' and community studies, and in particular describes Keller's work on the identification of urban neighbourhoods. The third and final section of

the chapter brings together these diverse strands of knowledge into the actual conceptual framework of this study, and outlines the principal aims and objectives of the project as a prelude to the description of the pilot study, which follows in chapter 4.

PART 1 - GEOGRAPHICAL ANTECEDENTS

3.2 *Statistical Techniques for Identifying Urban Sub-Areas*

The central theme of the first part of this chapter will be the development of alternatives to the classical ecological approach to urban areas. By the mid-1950s, the Chicago School's concept of 'natural area' had come under close scrutiny and criticism in the USA from several different angles. The manner of these criticisms led to the development of new theories and techniques purporting to offer a better explanation and understanding of spatial differences in urban land-use patterns, and often led to the identification of urban neighbourhoods or communities.

Together with a concurrent dissatisfaction with the social planning orthodoxy of the time, these developments directed the spotlight of academic interest onto small areas within cities and upon the individuals who lived in, developed and administered. them. This concentration upon the actions and motivations of individuals paved the way for the more politically-inspired approaches to neighbourhood/community planning of the late 1960s and 1970s.

In the early 1950s, Shevky and Bell[1] developed a mathematical technique for mapping relative social differences between the populations of small residential units.[2] This technique, known as 'Social Area Analysis' was developed to take into account social changes which were taking place in the 'host' society. One of the ways in which these changes manifested themselves was in certain characteristics of small urban areas. If the mathematical techniques were sensitive enough to detect such changes along several different residential dimensions, then the result would be a more meaningful description of residential differentiation. As Hamnett described it:

> "The social area analysts argued.....that the fundamental problem was taxonomic rather than phenomenological, ie. that it was a problem of classification rather than consciousness."[3]

They attempted to explain residential differentiation by relating it to "a wider-ranging set of forces characteristic of the society as a whole"[4], rather than by processes which were exclusively urban in nature (such as the 'invasion' and 'succession' of the classical urban ecologists).

The three aspects of modern industrial society which they chose were - change in the range and intensity of relations, differentiation of function, and complexity of organisation. These processes could all be identified as being present for any society which changed from small scale, primitive production to larger scale industrial manufacture. Furthermore, Shevky and Bell argued that three constructs could be created from these processes - Social Rank (or economic status), Urbanisation (or family status), and Segregation (or ethnic status) - and these constructs

could be measured by a series of easily-available census variables. Thus, three separate indices could be constructed for each census tract in any city, and the combination of scores for each index would summarise the essential social characteristics of each area. In this way, five basic census variables[5] could be used to describe urban residential patterns.

On a theoretical level, Shevky and Bell have been attacked for their ill-defined use of the term 'scale', and for their lack of explanation of the precise link between their three constructs and patterns of urban residential differentiation.[6] However, empirical criticisms of social area analysis have been even more damaging as they have highlighted the deficiencies and limitations of the technique. Several studies[7] have shown that certain variables are highly correlated with variables from other indices; particularly, that 'fertility' and 'proportion of women in the labour force' are more highly correlated with social rank than with one another. In other words the variables forming the indices are not independent of one another, and therefore the patterns produced by the three indices cannot be independent as Shevky and Bell claimed. With different input variables to make up each index, widely different results could be produced. The social area analysis of Shevky and Bell is limited to "specific cultural conditions of time and place and the initial input of variables"[8]; and it appears that the further away from the West Coast of America that their theory has been empirically tested the less valid it has become.

Shevky and Bell used the deductive theory to arrive at a series of variables which could explain social differences between small urban areas. Another set of more sophisticated mathematical techniques, collectively known as factorial ecology, have been used to overcome the technical inadequacies of social area analysis, particularly the high

inter-correlations between variables within different indexes. These techniques use multi-variate analysis to group together single variables which are highly correlated with one another into 'factors'. Each of usually two or three main (or principal) 'factors' can then be said to describe or account for a certain proportion of the overall difference between the members of the population sample. With factorial ecology these units are usually small areas, and the 'main factors' produced by the analysis are the major dimensions along which areas are different from one another (that is, they are analogous to the three constructs of social area analysis).

Principal Components Analysis (PCA) and factor analysis techniques are most commonly used to generate 'factors' which account for large proportions of the differences within the sample. Another multi-variate technique, cluster analysis, is more commonly used to group together small area units which are socially similar to one another. All these techniques derive 'factors' or 'cluster groups' from a certain number (sometimes running into hundreds) of input variables; and often statistically link together certain variables which the researcher would never see the apparent connection between. This also means that it is often very difficult to give labels to the 'factors' or 'clusters'. As Hamnett points out, "the factors, compounds or clusters...are 'derived'; they are not 'real' but statistical constructs which do not have an existence separate from that of the data they summarise."[9]

The factorial ecology techniques are inductive in that they do not presuppose any links between variables. However, the results are totally dependent upon the variables selected for and amenable to the multivariate technique. In most cases, researchers have little or no control over the validity of the input data which is usually drawn from national

and/or local government censuses and records. Inductive approaches run the danger of "substituting technique for theory"[10], whilst deductive techniques need to be based upon some empirical reality and not just a product of armchair theorising.

Common to all these complex mathematical techniques of describing small areas is the fear that they may appear to be more meaningful than they really are. The deductive techniques need to be supported by sound 'a priori' theory and the inductive techniques need 'a posteriori' reasoning to produce testable hypotheses which can form a theory.

In suggesting that a distinction should be made between areal studies and ecological studies, Johnston highlighted the lack of any real analytical power in the production of large numbers of detailed 'social' maps of the city. Areal studies which are "concerned with spatial associations only"[11] have numerous disadvantages, including the 'ecological fallacy' of inferring individual characteristics from aggregate data. Also, area studies are unable to test causal relationships since they do not consider certain 'structural effects', such as the predisposition of individuals to act in a certain manner. He argues that ecological studies can take into account such 'structural effects' by using longitudinal data or carefully assessing individual aspirations and intentions. This would allow a more meaningful link to be made between the distribution of individuals with certain predispositions and the resultant behaviour; and this in turn would offer a model capable of prediction.

It is not the intention of this study to assess the relative merits of various model-building techniques. However, the limitations of various

traditional geographical methodologies have been noted, and the diversity of approach to the study of social areas has a direct bearing upon the formulation of the objectives of this study. Other geographers have used the concept of dividing the city into small social areas, as the starting point for their own investigations into the operation of various social forces within an urban context.

3.3 *Recognition of Aspects of Sentiment and Symbolism in Urban Community Areas*

By the late 1930s the classical ecological approach to human society was already being attacked for failing to take into account the desires and motives of individuals and groups to control the environment in which they lived. Alihan[12] criticised the ecologists for transferring the concepts of plant ecology to human behaviour. She pointed out that there was a qualitative difference between human and plant societies in that men were conscious beings and could attempt to manipulate the processes which moulded the society in which they lived.

Gettys[13] recognised that residential location was influenced by human choice and culture; and that the forces operating upon competition in the human world are not as natural and unrestrained as those governing the plant kingdom.

After 1945, criticisms such as these became more powerful and inspired a new explanation of urban residential segregation, namely the 'values' approach. This approach does not deny the existence of the forces described by classical ecological theory, it merely argues that certain

non-economic forces such as sentiment and symbolism, can override the 'natural' pressures and create urban residential patterns which cannot be explained by the ecological approach. The most apparent example of an area being invested with certain sentimental values is the existence of exclusive upper class areas very close to city centres. It was this phenomenon which Firey[14] studied in Boston in 1945, and which led to his prolonged criticism of ecological theory from the viewpoint of non-economic human values. The districts of Beacon Hill and Boston Common are situated within the inner ring of Boston, and should, according to the concentric theory expounded by Burgess et al, have been invaded by lower class residents and non-residential land uses long ago. The fact that they were still respectable upper class areas was, as Firey argued, due to the areas having certain social and cultural traditions which were strong enough to repel all invasions. More specifically, the residents of these two areas were rich, and could exercise a degree of choice not predicted by the classical ecologists.

Firey also studied a lower class area, although his explanation of the sentimental attachment seems rather tenuous as residents in this did not have the range of residential choice open to them as did people living in Boston Common or Beacon Hill. However, the point had to be conceded that certain groups of individuals may choose to withstand the 'natural' ecological processes in order to remain in an area which has particular sentimental and symbolic connotations for them. As well as middle and upper class inner city areas, this argument could also be applied to certain ethnic concentrations in American cities where the inhabitants have ample resources to move to the suburbs but choose to remain in close residential proximity to members of their own ethnic minority.

Another damaging criticism of ecological theory was that the natural areas which the Chicago School had shown to exist, were nothing more than statistical abstractions. In 1946 Hatt studied rental values for residential blocks in Seattle. He found that this data could be aggregated into sub-areas which broadly conformed to the 'natural' areas and concentric zones anticipated by Burgess. However, Hatt found that when he plotted his data for each individual block, the pattern was far more heterogeneous than the one implied by his grouped data. The only homogeneous areas were those of very expensive housing and very cheap housing, the pattern in the intermediate areas differed sharply from the homogeneous sub-areas produced by aggregation. Hatt stated that the act of aggregating the data created an untrue picture of residential zones. He argued that "the natural areas are....fictitiously homogeneous and intensify the gradient and natural area pattern; and this to the point of almost creating a reality where none exists."[15]

Nevertheless, the concept of statistically definable social areas within cities has been a starting point for numerous geographical studies. Herbert[16] has linked social areas in Cardiff to the incidence of juvenile delinquency and criminal acts. Whilst in Nottingham, Giggs[17] has been able to show the correlation between the distribution of morbidity (illness and disease) with the broad social patterns of residential differentiation. Many other researchers have used social characteristics of small areas to study a variety of topics which lend themselves to spatial analysis - for example, housing, residential mobility, education, voting behaviour, distribution of wealth and patterns of settlement of ethnic minorities. The ability to accurately define sub-areas within cities is one of urban geography's most significant contributions to urban analysis and policy formation,[18] although, as will be discussed later in this chapter, the efficacy of deeming such sub-areas to be 'neighbourhoods' or 'communities' has been questioned.

3.4 *The Shortcomings of Urban Planning at Neighbourhood Level*

However even by the late 1950s the classical ecological theories propounded by Burgess, Hoyt et al had been subject to severe criticism, both theoretical and empirical. It had been recognised that the processes which influence the development of urban agglomerations were really far more complex than the ecological theories held within the 'concentric zone' and 'sector' models. Furthermore it was not simply that the ecological models were not accurate enough, but that some processes were affected by non-economic considerations.

Just as these orthodox theoretical stances upon urban structure were being questioned, so the orthodox practices and beliefs of the city planning profession were being critically re-appraised. In America, the most scathing attack was launched, not by an academic but by a journalist, Jane Jacobs. She laid the foundations for a continuing conflict between the popular press and city planning. Her fundamental question is - 'why hasn't city planning worked?'; and the major theme of her argument is that city planning has been dominated by theorists and idealists who have not bothered to understand how large cities work. On the whole of the city planning movement in America she states ".... the entire concoction is irrelevant to the workings of cities. Unstudied, unrespected, cities have served as sacrificial victims."[19] That is, victims of dreams and of quasi-moralistic statements upon how cities ought to work, and what ought to be good for the people who live and work in them. Jacobs suggested that town planners and city architects have been guided "by principles derived from the behaviour and appearance of towns, suburbs, tuberculosis sanatoria, fairs and imaginary dream cities - from anything but cities themselves."[20]

Although her writing was essentially prescriptive, in that she tried to answer the question of 'how cities can save themselves', her analysis contains several observations which have a direct bearing upon the scope of this thesis. She suggested that city planning has failed because it has tried to plan in the abstract on a drawing board, rather than concern itself with, for example, how new residential communities can be fostered and nurtured into the types of local area in which people like to live and feel attached to.[21] Moreover she pointed out that the types of self-contained inward-looking neighbourhoods which were then being planned and built in major American cities could never succeed in the way in which planners anticipated. Indeed if they did then they would be harmful to the cities of which they were a part.[22] The types of human relationships which might exist in an isolated village of 7,000 inhabitants, could never exist in a neighbourhood containing a similar number of people in a large city. City neighbourhoods maintained a multiplicity of relationships outside their boundaries in a way that isolated villages could not. Jacobs implored planners to "...drop any ideal of neighbourhoods as self-contained or introverted units."[23]

She realised that several planners had recognised this point and were beginning to rebel against the orthodox notion of self-contained neighbourhoods. Notable amongst these was Isaacs who suggested that "city people...are not stuck with the provincialism of a neighbourhood, and why should they be? Isn't wide choice and rich opportunity the point of cities?"[24] Jacobs expanded this point to note that city enterprises can draw upon a "great pool of skills, materials, customers and clientele ...and in this way...they increase the choices available to city people

for jobs, goods, entertainment, ideas, contacts and services."[25] From this she concluded "the lack of either economic or social self-containment is natural and necessary to city neighbourhoods - simply because they are parts of cities."[26]

3.5 *The Development of Behavioural Analyses of Urban Sub-Areas*

Jacobs attempted to give a non-technical account of how a human dimension could be introduced into city planning. Urban sociologists in both Britain[27] and America were trying to do the same thing through their research and within the academic framework of their discipline. Foremost amongst these in the USA was Gans, who studied the Italian community in Boston in 1959[28]. Evolving from this study, and from later work in the 1960s with other groups of inner city residents, Gans recognised that 'ways of life' affected the choices which people made with respect to housing and neighbourhood. Gans identified five types of inner city residents:-

1. The "cosmopolitans";
2. The unmarried or childless;
3. The ethnic villagers;
4. The "deprived"; and
5. The "trapped" and downward mobile.[29]

The first three groups 'choose' to live in the inner city to be near cultural facilities, jobs or other people with similar interests and cultural or ethnic backgrounds. The last two groups are 'forced' to live in the inner city through lack of income or discrimination against them in the housing market - the old, the poor and the coloured fall into these groupings.

Gans stressed that "the age of an area and the cost of housing are more important determinants of demographic characteristics than the location of the area with respect to the city limits."[30] His studies also led him to believe that "homogeneity of residents turns out to be more important as a determinant of sociability than proximity".[31] Subsuming his numerous observations and classifications within one basic argument he was able to propose that the 'way of life' or 'life style' of a household profoundly influenced where it chose to reside; and that this 'life style' could best be described with reference to 'class' (both social and economic) and 'life cycle stage'.

Gans used his analysis to point out the futility of planners "seeking to achieve social goals through physical plans."[32] By stressing factors such as 'number' and 'density' in the development of urban society (as Wirth had done), city planners were emphasising variables which they could have some measure of control upon. Gans argued that this attraction to ecological explanations of urban social processes had deterred planning from considering urban life styles and had contributed to the omission of any human dimension to their plans.

More recently, Suttles has taken up the academic quest into the nature of 'communities', and the ramifications of such analysis into the realms of social policy and political activity. Writing in 1972, Suttles recognised certain ways in which modern society had clouded the issue of the existence of urban communities. "All points of view seem to reify residential groups or 'the community' into a social category whose reality is to be forced upon the urban metropolis rather than seeing the community as a social category to be used solely for the purposes of description and analysis."[33] He suggested that the folk models of communities as cosy,

isolated, self-sufficient groups of individuals, had become the operating basis for urban planners. He traced this Arcadian myth back to the work of Park and Burgess in Chicago in the 1920s, and suggested that their idea of 'natural community' has been misinterpreted. Suttles argues that by 'natural communities', the Chicago School only wished to emphasise that American residential groups were spontaneous and unplanned and based upon individual decisions (and unlike certain 'planned' residential communities in Europe).[34] Suttles goes on to suggest that 'natural' was picked up to mean "a type of residential solidarity which was universal because it was uninfluenced by culture or administration".[35] Furthermore, this romantic image of community flourished because it seemed to "suggest a process in which communities were more nearly the products of personal and human nature than the contrivances of planners, bureaucrats and depersonalised institutions".[36] In other words it was suggested that man, in the form of individual residents, had control of his environment, and consequently of the institutions that his society had created.

Suttles argued that only since the 1940s has 'natural community' come to be used to mean a "development of sentimental ties among co-residents".[37] This in turn has led to research on communities focussing attention upon shared values, and studying interactional networks that have developed amongst residents in an area. Suttles himself believes that it is incorrect to regard local communities as aggregates of individual actions. He suggests that unbounded networks cannot lead to corporate identities, and that only by reference to other communities and institutions can an area develop a corporate identity.[38] He proposed that much research had assumed local solidarity to be based upon cultural unity, and emphasised traditional forms of affiliation through marriage, religion and ethnic association. These two processes generated a concept of local urban

community as a sort of "crescive by-product in which its broader identity was only a summary statement for many social groupings".[39] This summary statement assumed great importance despite the fact that it "was not an essential element but only a kind of epiphenomenon or oversimplification".[40] Thus, strength of community 'spirit' came to be judged by the statistical summary of the demographic, ethnic and social mix of an area:- the more homogeneous an area, the greater its 'community identity'.

The fallacy in this argument was highlighted by Suttles by reference to the work of Janowitz in 1952.[41] Janowitz developed the concept of the 'community of limited liability', and stressed the intentional, voluntary and especially the partial and differential involvement of residents in their local community.[42] He was able to show how an external agent - a community press - could act as a custodian in maintaining boundaries, local responsibilities and a sense of integrity. His work explained the development of local voluntary associations as a response to broader issues, and also explained why there was a partial or incomplete involvement of some members of the community, particularly emphasising the link with stages in the family life cycle. In this manner he showed that "the urban neighbourhood was becoming a more specialised, a more voluntaristic, and a more partial institution".[43] From Janowitz's analysis, Suttles draws the conclusion that local communities are not disappearing, but they are being subjected to a wider range of external influences and also undergoing internal differentiation.[44]

Suttles expanded Janowitz's concept of the community of limited liability (with Hunter), and ranked it as one of four "levels of sociocultural integration of residential groups".[45] His analysis of the 'special

construction of communities' had developed from an investigation of community relationships within the poorest areas in American cities,[46] and was part of a massive effort to understand and alleviate poverty and social distress in blighted urban areas.[47]

Work such as that of Gans and Suttles was instrumental in focussing geographical attention away from 'areal' and 'ecological' studies towards more subtle aspects of the processes which underlie spatial patterns and the development of communities.

3.6 *Geographical Evaluation of Neighbourhood*

It is clear that geographers have studied urban neighbourhoods on several different levels. In an attempt to integrate differing research methodologies, Blowers suggested that certain types of neighbourhood could be placed along a continuum according to the level of social interaction present. These differing forms of neighbourhood he described as:-[48]

- arbitrary neighbourhoods where localities may have a definite name, but no clear limits;
- physical neighbourhoods which do have distinct boundaries;
- homogeneous neighbourhoods which display uniform physical environments and social characteristics;
- functional neighbourhoods which are to some extent united by observable activity patterns; and
- community neighbourhoods where the close-knit groups of inhabitants are involved in multifarious social interaction.

In this sense, for example, social area analysis can be regarded as being principally concerned with homogeneous neighbourhoods, whilst the mapping of catchment areas of urban facilities probably relates to functional neighbourhoods. Herbert and Raine analysed six small areas in Cardiff on physical, functional and perceptual levels. They concluded that:-

> "A range of technical procedures now exist which are capable of defining territorial communities in urban areas. These procedures are to some extent alternatives in that they emphasise different aspects and may produce different results; they can more properly be regarded, however, as complementary in that they examine the related aspects of urban life which are involved in local social interaction and awareness."[49]

Geographers can use each of Blower's neighbourhood forms, whereas, as Herbert has pointed out, "sociologists....have generally only used the neighbourhood concept in a socially interactive form...."[50] (that is, as 'community neighbourhoods'). It will be useful to bear this observation in mind when considering the second part of this chapter, - the sociological antecedents of the study.

PART 2 - SOCIOLOGICAL ANTECEDENTS

3.7 *Theoretical Reviews of 'Community' and Community Studies*

The second part of this chapter will examine some further propositions about the nature of 'community', and will lead into the aims and purpose of the present study.

As Bell and Newby point out, sociologists have tried to define 'community' for over 200 years.[51] Although concepts such as Tonnies' 'Gemeinschaft' and 'Gesellschaft' have been invaluable in the sociological development of 'community', there has been a startling lack of agreement upon any seminal definition. By the mid 1950s with many 'community studies' completed in both America and Britain, attention was being focussed upon the 'nature' of community, and the desirability of trying to accumulate the knowledge and experience gained from the various 'community studies'. In 1954, Reiss made such a review of research on community, and came to the conclusion that "community is said to exist only when patterns of primary relationships exist within a residential context."[52] The following year, Hillery made an even more comprehensive analysis of definitions of community.[53] Hillery studied 94 definitions of community and found a rather wide dissimilarity between them. In fact, the only element common to every definition was man himself! He discovered that the three most important elements in the definition were:-

a) area

b) common ties (especially kinship)

c) social interaction (stressed in 91 of the 94 definitions).

However, the overall impression from Hillery's study was that sociologists may define 'community' for their own purposes, in a particular situation; but that all attempts to amalgamate these definitions would be fruitless since there is a basic dichotomy between those which focus upon the people and those who focus upon the territory.[54]

Local area was seen as important both as the setting in which social interaction takes place, and also in some way shaping that interaction. This aspect of community territory was recognised by MacIver and Page who pointed out that:-

> "... the local area is not only a basic condition of the social relationships that weld a group together and give it distinctive form, but is also a specific common environment to the peculiar characteristics of which the local group must make appropriate responses."[55]

In 1968 Dennis recognised the looseness of the term community, and offered four broad meanings:-

1. the area itself,
2. an area which contains all or most of the elements of a complete social system (ultimately, the nation),
3. situations where there is present a common opinion on topics of common interest,
4. where a certain degree of social interaction is present - close to Reiss's definition which stresses 'primary relationships in a residential context'.[56]

It was, as Dennis pointed out, the disappearance of this last type of community which was causing much popular concern. Dennis also made the important point that housing estates devoid of local facilities were really 'non-communities', as residence alone was not enough to create the degree and quality of social interaction necessary to produce a 'community'.

In this same theme, Blowers noted that the term 'community' had three separate and distinct connotations:- "It usually implies some SOCIAL INTERACTION that takes place within a GEOGRAPHICAL AREA, from which develops a SENSE OF IDENTITY (sometimes referred to as 'community spirit')."[57] This lack of 'community spirit' preoccupied researchers in the 1960s, and has, in a sense, preoccupied everyone concerned with the planning and design of new residential areas, ever since. The frustration with 'community' was perhaps summed up by Mann's remark in 1965 that "the

word 'community' has reached a 'high level of use and a low level of meaning'."[58]

In an effort to clear up this ambiguity, Bell and Newby draw a distinction between the concept of 'community' and the concept of 'communion'. They state that "communion can therefore be a product of community, but community itself does not consist of feelings or emotions, for community precedes emotional recognition by its members. Communion is simply the subsequent form of community experience at the level of consciousness."[59] Any territorial group can be regarded as an objective 'community', but subjective 'communion' can only exist if there are deep, established bonds of friendship and loyalty between the group's members.

Another approach to 'community studies' is to attempt to identify features which have apparently been responsible for the development and survival of 'community spirit' in certain localities at particular times. Four such elements can be easily identified:-

a) a common experience
b) a common threat
c) a common deprivation
d) internal conflict.

A common experience gives people living in a particular area a shared interest, even a shared excitement. Commonly, social life may focus around a certain institution or an important event - for example, the local football team in Glynceriog as studied by Frankenberg,[60] or a local carnival or fête. Common threats can also have the effect of transforming a 'latent neighbourliness' into actual community participation. The resentment of

an adjacent middle class area to new residents in Watling[61] provides an example, or more recently, the local groups formed to stop the development of motorways, airports, industrial complexes and so on.

Similarly, the identification of a common deprivation may spur local residents into action and generate residential solidarity. The struggle for the provision of schools and a community hall in Watling[58] is an early example, although the pattern has since been repeated on numerous occasions with local voluntary groups fighting for local hospitals, swimming baths, cinemas and the like. Internal conflict, particularly in the form of gossip, can also generate a sense of belonging or identity. Shared local knowledge is something which is not possessed by outsiders and is an important point of difference from adjacent 'communities'. The lack of gossip in Zone III of Winston Parva reflected the lack of identity felt by the inhabitants of that part of the town.[62]

An examination of the genesis and survival of what Suttles terms the 'corporate identity' of communities leads into a detailed appraisal of the aspirations and behaviour of individual members of communities. It is possible for non-spatial communities to exist - individuals who are held together as a group through a particular special interest. Such groups or 'communities of interest' have not however been within the scope of geographical study. Communities which are bounded by space are sometimes called 'local communities' or 'territorial communities' or even 'locality social systems'.[63]

Within local communities, certain individuals and households have differing degrees of 'dependence' upon and 'commitment to' their immediate environment, their neighbourhood. In an effort to understand

these differences, sociologists and planners have examined certain 'ascribed' characteristics such as age, sex and stage in the family life cycle.[64] Very briefly, pre-school children are almost totally confined to the home and area immediately surrounding it. Primary school-age children have a broader spatial horizon, but one which is unlikely to extend much farther than several hundred metres from their home. Secondary schoolchildren develop a wider knowledge of adjacent areas, and are likely to become less dependent upon their own neighbourhood, particularly for recreational activities. Young single adults and newly-wed couples are perhaps likely to move away from the area in which they grew up, either in search of employment or simply to establish some independence from the parental home. Unfettered by ties to their new locality, and possibly with rapidly changing income levels, such households are likely to move relatively frequently. However, with the arrival of children, a new dependence upon local neighbourhood is established. Young mothers are often unable or unwilling to continue in full-time paid employment, and are thrown into social contact with others in a similar situation. It is the housewife who is the most likely member of a household to be at home for the greatest part of the day. As children grow older (and more independent), their parents can often, once again, partake more easily of activities which might draw them away from their neighbourhood or local community. However, as old age approaches, and both physical mobility and mental agility decrease, individuals are thrown back into a situation where they are likely to be 'at home' for most of the day, and grow more dependent upon their local neighbourhood.[65]

This generalised family cycle has been, implicitly or explicitly, the basis for much urban residential planning since the time of Howard and Geddes. Any deviation from this pattern has been viewed with a certain amount of alarm. Households which broadly follow this predicted pattern of neighbourhood dependence in accordance with stage in family life cycle are sometimes said to be committed to 'familism'. This is to be contrasted to 'urbanism' or 'cosmopolitanism'[66] whereby individuals have broken free from the cycle of high neighbourhood dependence suggested by their stage in the family life cycle. These households have chosen to resist the 'flight to the suburbs' and exercise their choice within the housing market in an atypical fashion by, for example, choosing to live in areas close to city centres, and therefore close to specialised cultural or recreational focii. Unmarried adults and childless couples are often 'forced' into such localities by the housing market (that is by being unable to afford to buy a house, and ineligible by age or residential qualification, for council housing). However, when other housing alternatives become available to them, they often choose to reside in the same area, because it is convenient for their own particular life style. Although such 'cosmopolitans' may constitute only two or three per cent of the population of large cities,[67] and be totally absent in smaller urban areas, they are important because they represent one end of a spectrum of life styles, and can indicate the relationship of life style to 'dependence' upon and attachment to local neighbourhood. Timms stated that "familism and urbanism exist as virtually incompatible life styles. The attempt to combine them is fraught with difficulties. To this extent familism and urbanism may be seen as opposite poles of the same continuum."[68] Typically, 'cosmopolitan' households or areas "exhibit high social class, low number of children, skewed age distribution, and a markedly abnormal location, living as they do in the very centre of cities."[69] They will also usually exhibit a high proportion of women in full time employment -

as indeed suggested by Shevky and Bell's 'Urbanization' construct within their 'social area analysis'.[70] It is interesting to note that most of the research on 'cosmopolitans' has been conducted within the USA and in Britain, apart from London, the phenomenon appears to be almost totally lacking. However, with the build-up in the number of university and polytechnic students in the 1960s and 1970s, often living in halls of residence or lodgings close to their academic institutions, and therefore often close to city centres, a similar population pattern appears to have developed, that is individuals living near city centres with no immediate desire of moving to the suburbs.

The poor, and members of ethnic minorities also sometimes deviate from the predicted 'dependence' upon neighbourhood suggested by the 'familism' concept. Poverty may drastically reduce money available for travel, and consequently reduce mobility and increase dependence upon local areas for shops, recreation, work, etc. A life style based upon low income and low expenditure is developed. This is often reinforced by a range of local shops offering second-hand goods or inferior quality products at low price, and local employment offering low wages (usually to women) for menial factory work or for home-work. Members of ethnic minorities, although often subject to the same poverty as their 'native-born' neighbours, may choose to live amongst others of their own race for reasons of access to religious facilities and shops offering specialist food, music or travel facilities. Again, life styles create a greater dependence upon neighbourhood than suggested by 'familism'.[71]

Awareness of social class or social status also affects individuals' involvement in and attitude towards the area in which he or she lives. Reimer described it thus in 1952: "To relax from his working day, the

city dweller seeks a residential environment where he will be free from the constant alertness that is forced upon him by mingling with the motley crowd of a heteregeneous urban population. To relax in his private life, the city dweller wants to be with 'his own kind'."[72] Despite the idealism of creating 'socially-balanced' or 'socially mixed' communities that was present immediately after World War Two[73], modern town planning recognises that physical proximity alone is not sufficient to encourage social interaction and foster 'community spirit'. This proposal was augmented by research carried out by Carey and Mapes in 1972,[74] which arrived at the perhaps contentious conclusion that "it was only when socially homogeneous people were found together that propitious circumstances for social interaction existed",[75]

Rex also attempted to study community involvement from the viewpoint of individuals' actions and motivations. He recognised the need to explain Burgess's social/residential zones "in terms of the action (or behaviouralist - author's addition) frame of reference which explains particular kinds of land-use and building use in terms of the action-orientation of typical residents."[76] Arising out of an earlier study of Sparkbrook in Birmingham, Rex developed a classification of "housing classes" based upon the notion that "suburban housing was a scarce and desired resource"[77] which dominated the British housing market. Furthermore, he suggested that "the basic process underlying urban social interaction is competition for scarce and desired types of housing. In this process people are distinguished from one another by their strength in the housing market or, more generally, in the system of housing allocation."[78]

The housing classes which he stated could be distinguished in a large British provincial city were:-

1. The outright owners of large houses in desirable areas.
2. Mortgage payers who "own" whole houses in desirable areas.
3. Council tenants in council built houses.
4. Council tenants in slum houses awaiting demolition.
5. Tenants of private house-owners, usually in the inner ring.
6. House owners who must take lodgers to meet loan repayments.
7. Lodgers in rooms.[79]

Within this framework, Rex was able to suggest that a 'class struggle' developed between members of these different housing classes, and that this struggle was at the root of 'community relations' in the zone of transition. All the housing classes represented in the zone of transition were disadvantaged in some way, and their class membership (lodging-house proprietors, lodging house tenants, slum dwellers or "respectable" tenants of private houses)[80] determined their attitude and behaviour towards one another and to outside agencies, notably, the Council.

In terms of this present study, it is important to note that the conflict situations and 'housing class' struggles described by Rex, had repercussions upon community participation and strength of feelings of attachment to local area. In this sense, Rex was able to link community life and behaviour to the underlying social stratification and political organisation of society of the nation as a whole.

'Conflict theory' is carried a stage further by Simmie, who argues that many planners hold

> "...an implicit belief that the interaction between different groups in British society is based on co-operation and generally shared values and aspirations. This is therefore

> assumed to be the 'normal' state of society, and as such it is also the kind of social interaction which it is a purpose of planning to seek. This means that there is a close relationship between 'facts' and 'values' as far as many planners are concerned. The 'fact' is that normally society is co-operative and the 'value' is therefore that it ought to be co-operative. The policies which often flow from this understanding and normative judgement are concerned with creating economically and socially 'balanced' and integrated communities. The main purposes of these communities are economic and administrative efficiency...the evidence for these understandings and normative judgements is to be found in....attempts to create neighbourhoods and communities."[81]

In the tradition of the Chicago School, social ecology has come to dominate British town planning. The overall objective of plans is to create a state of stable equilibrium (similar to plant communities). Simmie attacks the "home-spun sociology of town planners"[82], and suggests that "they fail to understand situations which are based on social conflict and alienation rather than co-operation, and they do not explain either the nature of existing society nor what causes it to change."[83]

Sociologists have also criticised the concept of 'community' and the validity of community studies. Stacey[84] argued that, like any piece of sociological research, community studies can only be justified if they "make it possible either (i) to test already existing propositions, or (ii) to explore for hypotheses within a given conceptual framework."[85] She recognised that there was a confusion as to what 'community' actually meant - some researchers stressed the geographical element, whilst others

emphasised the sense of belonging. Like Hillery, she reaches the conclusion that the more one delves into the definition of 'community', the more amorphous and ambiguous it becomes. In fact she refers to 'community' as "a non-concept".[86]

Stacey also makes the distinction between two types of locality studies:

> "One is concerned with particular institutions as they are manifested in a locality, eg the family as studied by Rosser and Harris or Young and Willmott. The other is concerned with the interrelations of institutions in a locality, eg Gosforth.....Banbury."[87]

She confines herself to the latter type of study, and suggests that what is actually being studied is not a community, but a "local social system"[88], although they can only exist locally in a partial form. In the same article, Stacey puts forward 31 separate propositions about 'local social systems', and argues that they are a valid concern of sociological research. Another important point of departure from more traditional 'community studies' is that "in any locality study some of the social processes we shall want to consider will take us outside the locality."[89]

Bell and Newby offer a more comprehensive critique of 'community studies'. They suggest that much of the confusion lies in the fact that six different approaches to 'community studies' have been adopted, rendering it impossible to compare and synthesise individual studies.

Despite the fact that over a period of 50 years, several hundred community studies have been published, "these have never developed a theory of community, nor even a satisfactory definition of what community is."[90] The reasons for this they suggest, are obvious:

> "the weaknesses of the community study method can be easily listed, it all too frequently rests upon the observations of a single person, the procedures of observation are not systematized, there is no guarantee that another investigator would produce similar results, and the values of the observer cannot be disentangled from his data."[91]

They feel that "the subjective feelings which the term community conjures up thus frequently lead to a confusion between what it IS (empirical description) and what the sociologist feels it SHOULD BE (normative prescription)."[92] The reasons for this confusion lie, they suggest, in the history of sociology. For the past 200 years, 'community' has been linked with "images of the good life....and this amorphous quality allowed an endless array of social thinkers to unite in their praise of community no matter how diverse their interpretations of it might be."[93] The upheavals created by the industrial revolution, and the problems created by "its ecological derivative, the city"[94], gave rise to 'community' becoming tied to some romanticized, idealised image of the past.

Although Bell and Newby recognise that sociologists have defined 'community' for their own particular purposes, and that it is fruitless to search for a consensus definition, they do offer what they themselves consider to be the best definition of 'community' unearthed by their literature search:-

> "A collectivity of actors sharing in a limited territorial as a base for carrying out the greatest share of their daily activities."[95]

Their work also offers an important typology of community studies, and although the six approaches they identify need not concern the present thesis in detail, a brief resume is worthwhile as the approaches have

determined "which particular aspects of a community are the focus of attention."[96]

1. The ecological approach; as expounded by the 'Chicago School' of sociologists. The distinctive aspect is that the stress is on the SPATIAL consequences of social organization.
2. Communities as organizations. This approach treats communities as organizations especially community power and the recognition of individual and group goals within a community.
3. Communities as microcosms. Here communities are not only the object of study, but SAMPLES of the culture in which they are located. That is, it is too difficult and complex to study society as a whole, therefore a community is selected as an object for study in the hope that it is a representative sample for the whole society.
4. Community study as method. This approach to community studies views the community as neither an object of study, nor a sample of society, but simply as a source of data. Community study is just one of a number of observational techniques and concerns the study of human behaviour IN communities.
5. Communities as types. Following the classical tradition of Tonnies, the typological approach to communities is also a theory of social change - the aim is not merely to classify communities, but to say something about the nature and direction of social processes.
6. Communities and networks. This approach fulfils a desire to investigate the interaction of particular social groups which may be found in all communities.

The analytical tool for delineating and analysing these groups is the 'social network'. Networks for some people are locality based, for others less so. Traditional notions of community may be subsumed under the label of 'locality-bound, close-knit network'. One of the changes that may be occurring for many, but not all, social groups is not so much the 'eclipse of community' as that their social networks are becoming less locality-bound and less close-knit. Detailed empirical investigations of such patterns will only be advanced by painstaking elaboration of the concepts concerned in network analysis. If a satisfactory recording method is achieved, comparable and theoretically relevant data on community studies may become available.[97]

3.7 *The Identification of Urban Neighbourhoods*

In a comprehensive study of the urban neighbourhood, published in 1968,[98] Keller offered an explanation as to why there is so much confusion about the term neighbourhood. She saw the confusion as stemming from at least three major factors:-

1. "Conceptual ambiguity, particularly the failure to distinguish between three essential, yet separate, elements: that of neighbour as a special role and relationship, of neighbouring as a set of socially defined activities, and of neighbourhood as a delimited area in which neighbouring and other activities involving neighbours occur."[99]
2. "Contradictory evidence based on research, whose ambiguous assumptions have been incorporated into ambiguous research tools .... for example, that there is little sense of neighbourhood in community X because few people indicated that they were friends with their neighbours."[100]

3. "The problem of rapid social changes which upset the traditional balance between neighbours, neighbouring and neighbourhoods, and leaves in its wake a residue of incoherent fragments of such neighbourhoods."[101]

Keller recognised that the word 'neighbourhood' had two components, the area itself, and the people who lived in it. Furthermore, in attempting to investigate the 'existence of neighbourhoods,[102] researchers had concentrated on identifying distinct, non-overlapping physical areas; and then tried to record and possibly explain differences between the various populations of these 'distinct neighbourhoods'. The delineation of neighbourhood boundaries has been attempted by three different methods:-

a) the use of statistical and census data to identify separate neighbourhoods, or to confirm impressions gained by physical reconnaissance of an area.
b) by mapping out the addresses of customers or clients of local facilities (eg schools, churches, shops), and searching for common boundaries between adjacent service areas.
c) by asking residents to indicate the boundaries of their own neighbourhood on a map.

Keller criticises this whole approach:

> "Trying to locate neighbourhoods via identification of boundaries flounders on the fact that most clear-cut physical and symbolic boundaries go hand-in-hand with clear-cut neighbourhoods, of which the boundaries themselves are only indicators. Where neither tradition nor relative isolation help forge precise neighbourhood

> boundaries, accurate boundaries cannot be drawn. Thus, Reimer points to the danger of studying a delimited and contiguous patch of urban fabric and...'recording activities sustained in such areas' since thereby, important social activities that do not take place in these areas remain hidden and are treated as non-existent."[103]

Where neighbourhoods are easily distinguished by clear physical features and boundaries, or by obvious social or ethnic characteristics, the 'identification of neighbourhood existence' presents no problem. However, Keller goes on to point out that in a rapidly changing urban-industrial society, such easily distinguished neighbourhoods are very rare, and that other ways of studying neighbourhoods have been developed. She identified three alternative methods of attempting such an investigation:

> "1. To see how people themselves identify an area.
> 2. To see how a given group uses the facilities in an area.
> 3. To assess how people feel about an area."[104]

She labelled these three approaches as, the 'cognitive', the 'utilitarian' and the 'affective'.

PART 3 - AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

3.8 *Conceptual Framework of the Study*

The final part of this chapter deals with how the geographical and sociological perspectives discussed above, were moulded into the framework for this study. The design of the project is a natural progression of certain ideas and studies, but in particular the aims and objectives of this study attempt to concentrate upon certain aspects of urban life

where our knowledge appears to be most sparse. In this sense, the review of our understanding of 'community' and 'neighbourhood' in the first two introductory chapters as well as this chapter, acts as both a springboard for research and as a directional indicator as to where that research is most needed.

The final section will be an attempt to outline the aims and purpose of the present study. In bald terms, the purpose of this study is to achieve a better understanding of the way in which people live within their neighbourhood and to assess the practical implications of this knowledge for the effectiveness of social planning in both new and existing residential areas.

The preceding chapters have tried to trace the development of our ideas relating to 'community' and 'neighbourhood', and to assess our current level of comprehension of these concepts, and of how this knowledge has been put to use in the pursuit of socially desirable goals.

At the outset of this research, in 1973, it was apparent that considerable gaps existed in our knowledge of urban life, and of the social consequences of the planning policies which had been designed to improve the quality of life of the city dweller. However, it was equally apparent that this void in our knowledge was already being rapidly reduced in certain directions:-

1. Considerable research had been undertaken into the 'cognitive' dimension of neighbourhood investigation. Notably, Lynch[105] in 1960 looked at how certain physical features within a city (major roads, buildings, landmarks, etc.) affect perception of an area as one's neighbourhood. Other work on mental maps[106]

pointed to the ease with which respondents were able to offer a name for their own neighbourhood, and draw its boundaries on a map. Other researchers were pointing to important ways in which a person's mental image of the city, affected his behaviour within it - for example, Johnston suggested that people search for a new house in the same sector of the city in which they already live.[107]

Indeed, the importance of psychological, and personality factors had long since been recognised as one of the main influences underlying urban residential differentiation. Suttles had noted that certain behaviouralists such as Lorenz and Morris, had suggested that a need for "territoriality" was a basic animal instinct.[108]

In fact, Lee developed the concept of neighbourhood as a 'socio-spatial schema', linking physical and social aspects of neighbourhood study.[109] "A person's schema of his neighbourhood should be thought of as an intervening or mediating variable between him and the environment, a cognitive image which organizes his perceptions and his behaviour".[110]

Work such as that of Hall[111] in Portsmouth had already made the link between what Keller would term the 'cognitive' and the 'affective'. Asking people if they recognised the existence of a local 'community', and if so what were the important features of it, Hall was able to devise a matrix which suggested that middle class residents value the physical (status-inferring) aspects of community, whereas

working class respondents tended to value the social interactional components more. Furthermore, where physical landmarks and/or social focii were lacking in an area the strength of 'community' feelings was weak.

2. Much of the research upon 'communities' and 'neighbourhoods' had been undertaken in the context of 'why were people unhappy in new housing developments?' Following Durant's study of Watling in 1939, there was a steady flow of research upon new communities.[112] 'Transportation trauma' or 'new town blues', became a topic of national interest, and in trying to solve the practical problems experienced by people moving on to large new estates, our knowledge of the social processes in operation in this setting was extended.

This kind of study continues, and indeed has been translated by geographical researchers into a concern with 'social problems' in the city. Numerous social pathologies have been investigated with direct reference to 'social areas' within cities - notably the incidence of disease and illness by Giggs[113] and the distribution of crime and delinquency by Herbert.[114] Many other patterns of social behaviour have been analysed by geographers in a similar manner - housing, education, ethnic minorities, residential mobility, and voting behaviour for example.

3. Similarly, the development of computing techniques in the 1960s allowed more and more sophisticated statistical analyses to be made of small areas within urban aggregates. Social area analysis,

cluster analysis and factorial ecology were the tools which gave us the opportunity to describe social differences between neighbourhoods with great accuracy. In Britain, a number of government-sponsored research studies[115] have used advanced statistical methods of describing small urban areas. Furthermore, successive governments have developed policies which call for the use of complex mathematical techniques as a means of identifying poorer sub-areas or local authority areas which qualify them for extra financial resources.[116]

With only limited resources available it was decided to investigate areas of neighbourhood/community life where the blank in our knowledge was at its greatest. Thus, within the general purpose of the project outlined above, the framework of the study could now be more rigidly defined:-

a) That the 'affective' and 'utilitarian' aspects of neighbourhood life (to use Keller's terms for feelings towards and use of facilities within an area) should be concentrated upon, and relationships between variables within these two dimensions should be explored. That is not to say that the 'cognitive' element was considered unworthy for study, but simply that resources did not permit variables based upon 'perception of neighbourhood' to be fully developed and included in the overall survey. Also, much research was already being undertaken in this field, whereas other aspects (particularly the 'utilitarian') had been largely ignored. Keller recognised this inadequacy and made several references to it - for the collection of more systematic data on utilitarian aspects of

neighbourhood behaviour;[117] and "this whole problem of the relation between subjective judgements and objective inadequacies of neighbourhoods has been too little explored."[118]

b) That although much is known about social patterns and behaviour in new communities, little information exists on the way in which ordinary people live in 'typical' urban settings. The need for further work in this field has been suggested by Herbert - "how people actually behave in urban environments, as consumers with preferences to satisfy and with constraints which limit their activities, is a social process well worth closer consideration."[119] To avoid imposing any pre-conceived notions about a certain area being a well-defined neighbourhood or community, it was thought that it might be appropriate to take arbitrarily-defined small urban areas (such as polling districts or enumeration districts) as the basic unit of study. In Reimer's words, the object of study would be several "patches of urban fabric",[120] although due attention would be given to the behaviour of residents outside their own particular patch. It was also hoped that this approach would direct effort towards an understanding of micro-social processes at work in small areas (and their geographical consequences), rather than dwell upon the concern of 'proving the existence of a neighbourhood'.

c) Again, it was well beyond the resources of the project to gather detailed data on a large number of small urban areas or neighbourhoods, and then to evaluate the information with the aid of some form of factorial ecology. Instead, it was hoped that comprehensive, in depth attitudinal and utilitarian data could be collected for a few areas, and assessed as an 'example' of urban living, rather than as a 'representative sample'.[121] Moreover, previous work had

highlighted the use of typologies, or rather, dichotomies, in describing the social behaviour of people living in a particular area - for example:

- sociable versus reserved neighbours;[122]
- respectable versus rough residents;[123]
- local- versus urban-oriented individuals.[124]

It was hoped that the present research could explore the efficacy of such concepts in explaining the ways in which different individuals choose to live within their own immediate environment.

Having reached this stage of conceptualisation of the project, it was decided to undertake a pilot survey to test out the validity of the approach and the research tools themselves. The pilot study is described in the following chapter.

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20. Ibid. p.16.

21. Ibid. p.124

22. Ibid. p.125

23. Ibid. p.124

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25. Jacobs, J. (1961) op. cit. (Ch. 3-19). p.126

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27. For example, Michael Young and Peter Willmott.

28. Gans, H.J. (1962) 'The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian Americans'. Free Press, New York.

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35. Ibid. p. 8.

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60. Frankenberg, R. (1957) op. cit. (Ch. 2-32)

61. Durant, R. (1939) op. cit. (Ch. 1-54).

62. Elias, N. & Scotson, J.L. (1965) op. cit. (Ch. 2-40).

63. Blowers, A. (1972) op. cit. (Ch. 3-57) p. 111.

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65. Johnston, R.J. (1971). 'Urban Residential Patterns'. Bell, London. Johnston traces the relationship of 'stage in the family life cycle' to home rental/ownership and location.

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70. Shevky, E. & Bell, W. (1955) op. cit. (Ch. 3-1).

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Sjoberg's is a modified version of an earlier Talcott Parsons definition.

96. Bell, C. & Newby, H. (1974) op. cit. (Ch. 1-50) p. xlvi.

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102. American academics tend to use 'neighbourhood' for the concept which is usually summarised in Britain by the expression 'community': viz. Keller writes of "a sense of neighbourhood" and of "investigations of the existence of neighbourhoods". This semantic confusion has undoubtedly extended the chaos surrounding the use and definition of these two related concepts.

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Herbert, D.T. (1976) 'The Study of Delinquency Areas: A Social Geographical Approach'. Transactions of Institute of British Geographers N.S.1. pp. 472-92.

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115. For example, the Inner Area Studies, the Community Developments Projects and the Comprehensive Community Projects.

116. For example, Educational Priority Areas policy, and the major system of local government finance itself, the Rate Support Grant.

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120. Reimer, S. (1950) op. cit (Ch. 3-103)

121. Similar to Bott, E. (1957) op. cit. (Ch. 2-55).

122. Derived from Kuper, L (1953) op. cit. (Ch. 2-19).

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CHAPTER 4

DESCRIPTION AND RESULTS OF THE PILOT SURVEY

4.1 *Conceptual and methodological Framework of the Pilot Survey*

The purpose of the pilot study was to assess the fruitfulness of examining the relationship between attitudinal attachment to neighbourhood and use of local facilities and services, and, furthermore, to test out a methodology and survey technique designed to evaluate such variables.

This overall purpose can be sub-divided as follows:-

1. To generate a series of questions which:-
   a) effectively differentiate respondents along certain attitudinal and behavioural scales;
   b) are conceptually related to questions and/or scales used in other studies - so as to enable comparisons where appropriate;
   c) are simple to ask and respond to.
2. To develop a suitable methodology for obtaining answers to the devised list of questions
3. To construct a framework within which to analyse the results of the survey
4. To assess the effectiveness of the methodology and analytical framework, and amend as appropriate for the main survey.

Considering the limited resources of the project, it seemed appropriate to choose a survey area fairly close to Keele, so as to reduce travel problems and attempt to keep within the time-scale of the project.

One of the stated objectives of the project was to study ordinary people living in 'typical' urban settings.[1] However, in order to more rigidly examine the efficacy of the questions used and the concepts explored, it was thought appropriate to choose an area for the pilot survey where the geographical choices available within the city were minimised. For example, the closest shopping centre should be considerably nearer than the second closest centre; the area should be easily identifiable and the transition to adjacent identifiable neighbourhoods should be rapid rather than gradual, etc. In other words, the area should be relatively isolated,[2] and possess a range of facilities and services which meet most of the daily needs of its residents. As well as simplifying comprehension of the results of 'utilitarian' questions, an isolated neighbourhood would also yield simplified 'affective' responses as people would find it difficult to feel a sense of belonging to an area skewed to include their own home and somewhere outside their immediate isolated estate.

The area which best satisfied these criteria was Bentilee, a large municipal estate on the outskirts of Stoke-on-Trent.[3] Bentilee was built in the mid 1950s as a planned, self-contained community called the Ubberley-Bentilee Neighbourhood Unit. Amongst the advantages it offered were:-

1. it was built as a planned community and original documents outlining the concepts behind the plan, were available.
2. previous research had been undertaken by staff of the University of Keele Geography Department[4] and comparisons with this earlier work would be possible.

4.2 *The Pilot Survey Questions*

The questions asked in the pilot survey would obviously be crucial to the whole project, not only in determining the types of analysis possible, but also in giving an opportunity to assess the respondents' comprehension of individual questions.

The questions needed for an appropriate analysis to be carried out appeared to fall into three broad headings - general social variables, use of services and facilities, and feelings of attachment or belonging to neighbourhood. Although some of the questions are discussed in more detail in later sections of this chapter, it will be useful to give an outline of the questions and some background information as to why they were included in the survey.

(a) General social background information

Questions under this heading relate to standard social variables, and are common to most social surveys, including the national census. In some senses these variables act as a control and allow a socio-economic profile of respondents to be established.

(i) Composition of household - including age and sex of all household members.

(ii) Household tenure (known in the case of the Bentilee sample, as all residents were local authority tenants).

(iii) Length of residence at present address and/or in present area.

(iv) Socio-economic group:- based upon occupation of head of household.

(v) Marital status of household members.

(vi) Car ownership (important in terms of potential for physical mobility, and also, possibly, as a surrogate for relative wealth).

(b) Services and facilities used (both locally and non-locally)

(i) Shops

(ii) Doctor/dentists

(iii) Community Hall or Centre

(iv) Clubs

(v) Public houses

(vi) Churches

(vii) Other entertainments

(viii) Schools

(ix) Sports facilities

(x) Parks and recreation grounds

(xi) Local employment opportunities.

Variables such as these have been considered by many social and community studies in Britain, dating from Ruth Durant's work at Watling[5] in the 1930s, and in the present study they form the basis of the 'utilitarian' discussion.

(c) Affective/emotive attachment to neighbourhood, feelings of local identification or sense of belonging

Whereas the previous questions have a factual basis and are relatively objective, questions relating to attitudinal attachment are entirely

subjective. For this reason, it is much more difficult to establish reliable measures of attachment to an area, and the wording of the questions themselves becomes far more important if uniformity of comprehension is to be attained.

Although many studies have tried to evaluate identification or attachment to local area, the model adopted for the present study was the Community Attitudes Survey of 1969.[6] This survey formed one of the many reports produced by the Royal Commission on Local Government in England, and the attitudinal questions it posed seemed to be appropriate in that they avoided direct reference to value-laden terms such as 'neighbourhood' and 'community', and also that they had found the questions to be reliable after asking them of several thousand respondents. Two direct questions they developed were used verbatim in the pilot survey in Bentilee:-

(i) 'Is there an area around here, where you are now living, which you would say you belong to and where you feel "at home"?'

(ii) 'Supposing you had to move away from (home area), how sorry or pleased would you be?'

A third question:

(iii) 'Do you find the estate a friendly place to live?' was also included in the pilot survey. Similar questions had been used in many previous surveys,[7] although it was recognised that responses sometimes revealed more about the friendliness of the person being interviewed, than the friendliness of the area.

Aside from such direct questions on local attachments, other studies indicated several additional variables which might appear to be related to such attitudes. Further questions were included therefore in the pilot survey as being potentially relevant to the existence of feelings of local identification and belonging:-

(iv) Area of previous residence and duration of time spent living in that area. Young and Willmott[8] mentioned that many 'Greenleigh' residents still had strong feelings of attachment to Bethnal Green, and indeed some retained very important connections with their previous area of residence via employment, kinship and recreation. Elias and Scotson[9] noted the fact that many of the inhabitants of Zone III of Winston Parva had moved into the area from many miles away, and were effectively cut off from their 'past' lives and their old experiences and values. This variable thus appeared to have a strong bearing upon the development of feelings of attachment to local area.

(v) Happiness or satisfaction with the estate or immediate housing environment, in general. This topic has been explored in several studies,[10] and is of obvious relevance to people growing attached to their local area.

(vi) Schooling of children. Several American studies[11] have alluded to the fact that people dissatisfied with their own neighbourhood often choose to send their children to schools elsewhere, sometimes as a prelude to moving house entirely. Although probably of less relevance in Britain where educational choice is more restricted, there is still

the possibility that people may have strong worries that their children will pick up 'bad habits' if they play with other local children.[12]

(vii) Relatives living nearby. The development of a local kinship network has been recognised as an important influence in the development of local attachments.[13]

(viii) Connectedness of family networks. A concept developed by Bott,[14] which she showed to be a crucial determinant of how families spend their leisure time; and therefore of how they use local entertainments and may reinforce local attachments.

(ix) Possession of a telephone, knowledge of local affairs. These variables were found to be important by the Community Attitudes Survey,[15] in relationship to local political representation. Their relevance to feelings of attachment were less clear-cut, and the inclusion of these dimensions in the pilot survey appeared to be marginal.

(x) Attitudes to neighbouring and/or attitudes to privacy. Again, these variables appear to be important in affecting a person's feelings of local attachment.[16] A question asked by Leo Kuper - 'What is your idea of an ideal neighbour?' - was used to explore this area. It was recognised that perhaps many other questions could be asked about neighbouring but the scale of the survey did not allow such elaborations, and it was hoped that by including a question which Kuper himself considered to be very important, a reliable estimate of the 'neighbouring' variable could be obtained.[17]

(xi) Desire to move away. Although such a desire could be the outcome of various aspirations, or change in circumstances, Kuper[18] pointed to this factor as the only ultimate solution to residents who could not control their neighbours' noise and general life-style.

4.3 *Survey Method and Sampling Procedure*

It seemed apparent that the range of possible questions to be included in the survey could make a questionnaire too long and cumbersome, with much detail that it would be difficult to use in analysis. Therefore a certain amount of pruning was done to the original list of questions at an early stage.

It also seemed apparent that some questions were relatively easy to answer, whilst others were rather involved and may engage some respondents in deep thought. The need for simplicity of comprehension was a paramount concern during the design of the research tools. As some questions were rather complex, and as the full range of questions could take considerable time to complete, it was decided to split the questions into two groups, and to elicit responses by two related methods.

(a) The first group of questions would include certain key variables, which were either very simple to respond to (for example, length of residence) or where the actual wording was of great significance (for example the two questions on attitudinal attachment from the Community Attitudes Survey).

(Appendix 1)

This list of questions could be kept quite short and sent out by post for respondents to complete themselves.

(b) The second group of questions, which included some rather contentious or complex topics (for example, those on 'ideal neighbours' or connectedness of family networks) could be answered on a personal visit by means of an interview schedule. *(Appendix 2)*

This method seemed particularly appropriate for the pilot survey in Bentilee for several reasons:-

1. It allowed the more important questions to be asked of a large number of people without committing the researcher to spending time trying to answer the full list of questions with a large number of interviewees.
2. It permitted an initial approach to be made via a letter rather than by a surprise visit. It was felt to be important that initial contact was made in this way so as to reassure possible respondents (many of whom could be elderly persons living alone) of the bona fides of the interviewer, and the authenticity and confidentiality of the approach.
   (Appendix 3)
3. By asking respondents to fill in the questionnaire and retain it for collection by the researcher, it was hoped that the response rate could be pushed up way beyond typical rates for replies by 'stamped-addressed-envelope' techniques.
4. By collecting the postal questionnaire, the researcher was able to establish rapport with respondents, explain more about the survey, and ask if it would be possible to ask some more questions (that is, those on the interview schedule) at a later date if necessary.

The Sample

Rather than spread the sample of respondents across the whole of the estate, it was decided to concentrate the sample into four sub-areas, in a similar manner to Herbert and Rodgers.[19] 150 addresses were selected from the central sub-area (using random number tables), 75 from the northern sub-area, and 50 addresses each from the two slightly smaller peripheral sub-areas on the eastern and southern extremities of the estate. In all, 325 postal questionnaires were sent out, giving a sample proportion of approximately 1 in 4 in the four sub-areas. The questionnaires were sent out in batches during April 1974, and 211 were collected by mid May 1974.[20]

TABLE 4.1

Sub-area	Total Dwellings	Number in Sample	Survey Completed	Refusals	Households not contacted
CENTRAL	692	150	93(62%)	44	13
NORTHERN	281	75	45(60%)	22	8
SOUTHERN	200	50	33(66%)	12	5
EASTERN	200	50	40(80%)	6	4
		325	211(65%)		

This part of the study is called the postal questionnaire survey (p.q.s.) The four sub-areas were selected so as to give an opportunity for comparisons to be drawn between different parts of the estate (although this was never intended to be a major objective of the Bentilee pilot survey):- one area was around the geographic centre of the neighbourhood unit where all residents were within five minutes walk of the centrally

located neighbourhood facilities, the three other sub-areas were situated on the periphery of the estate, up to 30 minutes walking time from the neighbourhood centre.[21]

All 211 respondents to the p.q.s. were asked if they would answer further questions at a later date, and approximately three quarters indicated their willingness to do so. Measures of attitudinal attachment and the use of facilities were devised from responses to questions on the postal questionnaire *(see Appendix 4)*, and 56 households with extreme scores were selected for the second part of the pilot study, the verbal interview survey (v.i.s.). During June and July 1974, 52 interviews were completed; each interview lasting approximately 20 minutes. Of the four non-respondents, two had moved, one was on extended holiday, and only one refused.

4.4 *Background to the Pilot Study*

The Ubberley-Bentilee Neighbourhood Unit was built between 1952 and 1955, and is by far the largest single estate in Stoke-on-Trent. It was conceived, and built, strictly on the lines of the accepted neighbourhood unit doctrine of the day.[22]

> "In the past it was considered that a housing programme had been satisfactorily accomplished merely by the provision of a number of houses. Little or no regard was given to the provision of additional features aimed at creating an environment.....It is not to be wondered at that the tenant of the new house, accustomed to the convenience of his old surroundings, no matter how unsatisfactorily housed, considered himself banished to his new

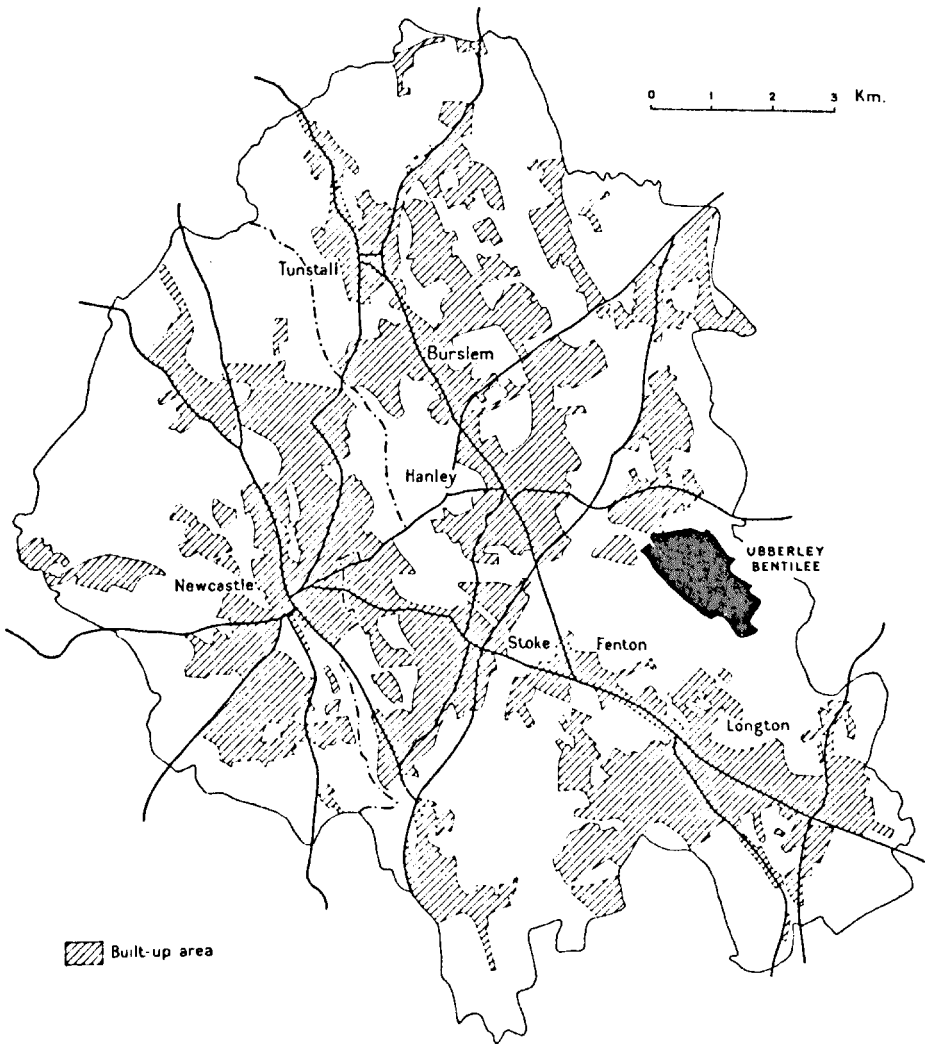
surroundings which lacked many features to make him immediately appreciative and at ease.

Clearly, something more must be added to the old ideas on housing, and in the postwar period, after due thought, the Corporation adopted the modern conception of housing, the neighbourhood unit. This is an aggregation of approximately 10,000 persons and consists of a residential area complete with additional buildings, viz., the church, community centre, schools, shops, games areas for infants, youth and persons of more mature years, public open space for a breath of the country, and a small swimming bath; in fact, everything to foster wide interests and to promote a full life. To complete the picture of the neighbourhood unit, there is a deep belt of green grass to be maintained in agricultural use, which surrounds the whole unit, to ensure that the urban atmosphere is mellowed by the countryside."[23]

In 1971 the population of Bentilee was 15,102; far in excess of the 10,000 target. There is little employment on the estate, and until 1974 there was a virtual absence of landscaped public open space. There are no restaurants or cafes in Bentilee, and no swimming pool or cinema. The community centre, together with the numerous public houses and working men's clubs provide night-time entertainment, but the overall range of recreation and leisure facilities available on the estate is very limited. However, Bentilee is less than five kilometres from the centres of Hanley, Stoke and Longton and would be unable to support a full range of leisure-time facilities in the face of this competition. (Fig. 4.1)

Figure 4.1

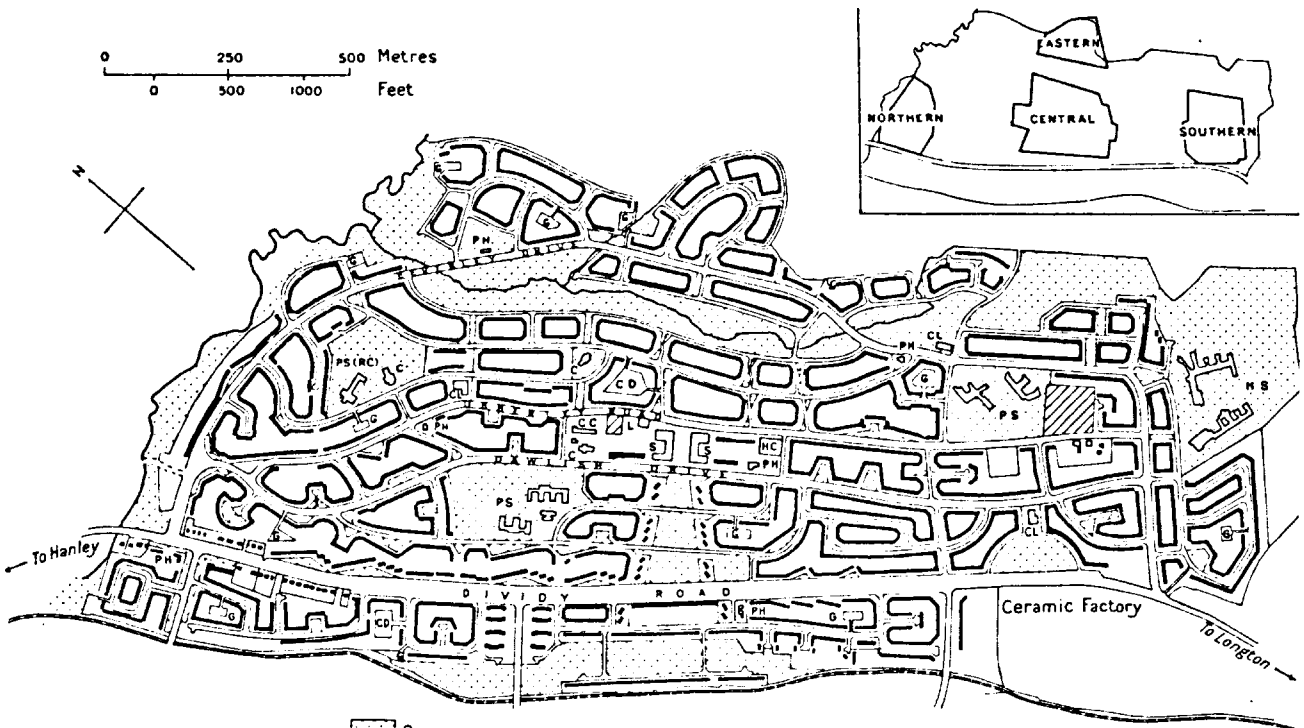
LOCATION OF UBBERLEY–BENTILEE IN THE POTTERIES



The Dudley Report proposed that a 'sense of neighbourhood' would be realised in a unit that was "large enough to embrace a wide variety of experience and taste, and yet small enough to possess easy accessibility between its parts, and to provide occasion for acquaintance."[24] Bentilee was never really meant to 'embrace a wide variety of experience and tastes'. Of the survey sample population only 4% could be classified as non-manual workers, and only 11% had origins outside the Potteries. The advantage of the unit's size is not that it is able to accommodate a heteregeneous population, but rather that it is large enough to support a comparatively good shopping centre around Devonshire Square (including three large supermarkets, a Boots and a Woolworths). Unfortunately this same factor, namely the size of the estate (together with its elongated structure), works against the other two points proposed by the Dudley Report. There are obvious advantages in having all the neighbourhood facilities concentrated in a single area at the centre of the estate, but from the periphery some elderly residents are faced with a walk of over 30 minutes to this focal point. Although many cul-de-sacs and crescents provide ample 'occasion for acquaintance', this is only on a street scale; and the shopping centre does not act as a neighbourhood centre. A Bentilee resident is probably only marginally more likely to meet accidentally a neighbour in the Devonshire Square shopping centre than he or she is to meet the same neighbour in the middle of Hanley. Rodgers and Herbert[25] in a 1967 study of Bentilee found fault in the street pattern (Fig. 4.2) which allows easy vehicular access to the centre along a north-south axis, but impedes access in an east-west direction. They discovered that 'satisfaction' with the estate diminishes with distance from the centre, and suggested that the physical layout of Bentilee influenced the contentment which residents in different parts of the neighbourhood unit derive from the locality in which they live.

Figure 4.2

THE UBBERLEY – BENTILEE ESTATE



4.5 *The Postal Questionnaire and its Results*

Attitudinal indices

Three indices of attitudinal attachment to Bentilee were derived from the p.q.s. Strong relationships were found to exist between the ability to feel 'at home' and other measures of local identification and behavioural habits. Only 53% of the p.q.s. sample of 211 replied that they did feel 'at home' in Bentilee.[26] This may be a reflection of a generally lower level of satisfaction with residential area exhibited by council tenants, or it may be due to factors unique to this particular estate. Unlike the Community Attitude Survey sample, Bentilee residents did not display such a strong tendency to feel 'at home' after living longer in the same area. (Table 4.2)

Table 4.2

Respondents who felt 'at home' in their local area

Sample	Length of residence in local area						
	3 yrs %	3-5 yrs %	6-10 yrs %	11-20 yrs %	over 20 yrs %	born here %	overall %
Bentilee	17	32	59	55	-	-	53
CAS	67	68		73	86	94	78

Response to another of the CAS questions 'Supposing you had to move away from (home area), how sorry or pleased would you be?', also indicated that the Bentilee sample were less attached to their local area that the national sample (Table 4.3). Cross analysis of these two questions shows that as would be expected most residents who would be 'sorry to leave' do feel 'at home' in Bentilee, whereas few of those 'pleased to leave' consider themselves 'at home' on the estate.(Table 4.4)

Table 4.3

Feelings at having to move away from home area

Sample	Rates of response				
	very sorry	quite sorry	neither sorry nor pleased	quite pleased	very pleased
			(% of total respondents)		
Bentilee	16	20	31	10	21
CAS	40	24	20	7	8

Table 4.4

Feeling 'at home' and attitude to leaving

Attitude to leaving	With a home area (111)	Without a home area (93)
Very sorry	27	6
Quite sorry	33	10
Neither sorry nor pleased	34	26
Quite pleased	10	11
Very pleased	6	38
Don't know	1	2

Table 4.5

Attitude to leaving and degree of perceived friendliness

Attitude to leaving	Informants finding Bentilee friendly (77)	moderate (116)	unfriendly (16)
Very sorry	27	6	-
Quite sorry	25	18	-
Neither sorry nor pleased	19	46	1
Quite pleased	2	18	-
Very pleased	3	26	15
Don't know	1	2	-

A third attitudinal index, based on the question, 'Do you find the estate a friendly place?', generally reinforced impressions about each respondent's overall feelings towards living in Bentilee. (Table 4.5)

Behavioural characteristics

As an adjunct to the attitudinal indices certain behaviour habits of the samples were investigated. The respondents were asked to state whether they 'generally used the Bentilee shopping centre for day-to-day shopping needs', 'how frequently they went into the Community Centre on the estate', and whether or not they were 'registered with a doctor whose practice is on the estate'. These particular aspects of social behaviour were chosen for study as they are all carried on in a community setting, and not only contribute towards the life of the community but are in a sense an expression of it. Shops, community centres and doctors' surgeries are all potential locations for accidental meetings which may strengthen existing bonds of kinship, work or neighbourliness or create new ones; and all are essential elements in neighbourhood unit planning theory.

Table 4.6

Use of estate facilities and attitude to leaving

Attitude to leaving	Use of Bentilee shopping centre		Frequency of use of community centre			Registration with estate doctor	
	yes	no	weekly (% of	occasional total respo	never ndents)	yes	no
Very sorry	82	18	12	36	51	61	39
Quite sorry	81	19	11	35	53	70	30
Neither sorry nor pleased	71	29	14	32	53	54	46
Quite pleased	57	43	9	29	62	48	48
Very pleased	56	41	2	42	54	46	54
Average	70	29	10	35	54	56	43

The general rates of use of facilities oberved are probably simple reflections of the size of the shopping centre, the range of activities in the community centre, and the availability of places with local GPs. However, when broken down by one of the indices of attitudinal attachment the results are more meaningful. Although the three activities chosen give only a simplified and limited measure of 'community involvement', and the precise meaning of the attitudinal indices is unclear, the cross-tabulations offer some sort of comparison of 'actual community involvement'. Those who indicated that they would be sorry (very or quite sorry) to leave Bentilee were thus more likely than the rest to use the shopping centre, the community centre and medical facilities on the estate. (Table 4.6)

Areal differences in behaviour and attitude

The neighbourhood unit is almost three kilometres in length and its spine is built on a long ridge of high land. This ridge (running north-west to south-east) and a pre-existing main road (Dividy Road) dominated the planning of the estate, and account for its elongated structure. All the other major roads in Bentilee follow this directional trend and there is a lack of roads across the ridge giving peripheral sub areas direct links with the centre. The centre itself has the highest elevation, and from the edge of the estate many residents are faced with an uphill walk of up to 30 minutes to their local shopping centre. On the other hand it is less than 15 minutes by 'bus to the centres of Hanley and Longton. It is not too surprising, therefore, to find that there is a considerable difference in rates of use of the central area facilities between the central sub area sample (all of whom lived within five minutes' walk of the shops and community centre) and the peripheral sub area samples. (Table 4.7)

Table 4.7

Use of estate facilities from sample sub areas

Sample sub areas	Use of Bentilee shopping centre		Frequency of use of community centre		
	yes	no	weekly	occasional	never
	(% of total respondents				
Central	83	17	18	42	40
Northern	62	38	2	31	67
Eastern	67	33	5	38	55
Southern	49	49	3	21	76
Average	70	29	10	25	54

Herbert and Rodgers[27] found a similar pattern of use of these two centrally located facilities. They blamed intra-estate accessibility for this spatial concentration of residents who claimed to make most use of the shops and the community centre, and they went on to state that "the frequency with which services are used reflects degrees of identity with the estate as a neighbourhood unit". Herbert and Rodgers substatiated this assertion by other results of their survey, namely, that 80% of respondents in the central area thought the estate a friendly place, whereas only 65% of those living in peripheral areas gave the same answer; and also that respondents living in the marginal sub areas of the estate were more likely to have friends living off the estate. They pointed out that "the size of the Ubberley-Bentilee estate, accentuated by the linear form of its plan, acts as an adverse factor in the development of the neighbourhood unit in its functional sense, for the margins of the estate are feebly integrated with the centre", and concluded that this feeble integration caused "the physically big unit" to become "operationally small".

Table 4.8

Measures of attitudinal attachment in Bentilee sample sub areas

Sample sub areas	'At home' in Bentilee		Bentilee - a friendly place		Attitude to leaving Bentilee	
	yes	no	yes	no	sorry	pleased
	(% of total respondents)					
Central	47	52	37	62	28	36
Northern	58	38	29	71	44	27
Eastern	55	40	44	55	45	30
Southern	58	36	39	60	36	24
Average	53	44	37	63	36	31

While agreeing with Herbert and Rodgers that the size and plan of the estate work against the development of a neighbourhood unit in the functional sense, the results of this survey do not all show central area respondents as having a higher "degree of identity with the estate as a neighbourhood unit". In fact, for two of the three measures of attachment assessed by the p.q.s., the central area appears to have the lowest degree of identity amongst its residents.[28] Average length of residence was highest for those living in the central part of the neighbourhood unit, and so this factor could not be responsible for the generally lower level of satisfaction recorded in the central sub area (Table 4.8). The relationship between attitudinal attachment and physical use of services and facilities, therefore, seems to be more complex than the simple equation of frequent use of neighbourhood facilities equalling high degree of identity with neighbourhood unit.

4.6 *Conceptual Considerations of the Follow-up Interviews*

Neighbourhood planning is directed at balancing out what is economically and technically feasible with what the public (the clientele) apparently desire. In the 1950s and early 1960s the emergence of a practical

planning procedure meant that this balance was tipped towards the economic, technical and aesthetic desirability of a development, and the wishes of the public were interpreted in actual plans as what planners and architects thought people wanted. In general terms it is very difficult to anticipate the precise needs and desires of residents of a new housing development. So, out of necessity, and through a lack of alternative formulations, planners in the 1950s were forced to assume that they did know what the residents of a new estate would be like, and that their plan for an area would achieve certain social planning objectives. The neighbourhood unit concept offered a simple and clear formula whereby planners could apparently pursue such desirable social objectives through physical principles.[29] Several sociological studies[30] documented the life of specific communities and uncovered some basic elements of community structure which until then planners had evidently ignored. In revealing such features as the function of corner shops and public houses as local meeting places and the workings of the extended family, these studies highlighted the flaws in planners' assumptions about what should be done to bind the community together or foster the development of a 'full community life'.

This present study set out to investigate the problem of what people expect from their neighbourhood by studying the relationship between their physical use of neighbourhood facilities and their attitudinal attachment (or degree of identity) to their neighbourhood. By quantifying and classifying responses to six of the questions on the postal questionnaire[31] a four-way table was produced (Fig. 4.3). Each of the four categories represents a different type of response to living in Bentilee. In a theoretical sense these four categories can be described

as ideal types, of which types 1 and 4 are easiest to understand. Type 1 is the resident who likes Bentilee and uses the facilities it has to offer. He identifies with the estate as 'his neighbourhood' and is happy to become involved with community-based acitivities. Type 4 basically hates Bentilee. He does not identify with the area and chooses to use the facilities and services offered on the estate as little as possible. He probably imagines that he will not have to live in Bentilee much longer, and may actively be planning to move. Type 3 has a low attitudinal attachment (that is, he does not especially like the place), but nevertheless uses local facilities. This apparent paradox is explained by age, infirmity or the lack of a car. Type 2 has a high attitudinal attachment and yet uses the local facilities and services very little. Typically this could be a young family with no children where both husband and wife are out working all day, and do their shopping on the way to or from work. Their connections with Bentilee are sparse and their contacts with neighbours minimal, but they are quite happy with the local area as far as they use it (that is, as somewhere to eat and sleep).

It was not the intention of this study to classify all 211 p.q.s. respondents into one of the four types, as many exhibited behaviour patterns which were amalgams of the four polar types. Rather, the diagram below was used as a sampling framework to pick out informants with extreme scores. These respondents were then interviewed and their answers were used to test the hypotheses generated by the four postulated ideal types described above (henceforth referred to as socio-spatial types), and indeed to articulate the typology itself.

Figure 4.3

Relationship between use of neighbourhood facilities and attitudinal attachment to neighbourhood

		PHYSICAL USE: HIGH	PHYSICAL USE: LOW
ATTITUDINAL ATTACHMENT	HIGH	1	2
	LOW	3	4

4.7 *The Verbal Interview Survey and its Results*

Further attitudinal indices

The interview schedule was designed to obtain further measures of the attitudinal attachment of the respondents to the area in which they lived, and to examine other facets of their behaviour within this local area. Three attitudinal indices were produced by the v.i.s. The first was based on the question 'Do you think that the following facilities on the estate are adequate?', after which was read out a list of six types of facilities[32] which neighbourhood unit theorists (such as Perry) had included in their plans. The range of satisfaction with each facility varied enormously and certainly reflects many shortcomings to any idea of Bentilee being a self-contained neighbourhood unit. The number of satisfactions or dissatisfactions recorded by each respondent gives an overall measure of their satisfaction with the facilities provided on the estate. Second, of the 52 respondents, 25 claimed to have actively considered moving away from Bentilee. Although people may desire to

move away from the estate in order to buy their own house, or to seek employment in another part of the country for instance, for many respondents wanting to 'get out' of Bentilee was a symptom of a deep-rooted contempt for the area. Third, as neighbouring obviously relates to community attachment and behaviour in such a fundamental way, it was decided that it would be useful to have some indication of the neighbouring preferences of the respondents; and to relate these preferences to other aspects of community involvement. Such an attitudinal index was therefore created by the question 'What is your idea of an ideal neighbour, whom you would like to live nextdoor to?'[33]. It was made clear to respondents that the question did not refer to any of their 'real life' neighbours but only to a theoretical ideal. The question was asked in an open-ended fashion and the respondents' answers taken down verbatim (varying from a few words to several sentences). Many different elements in the concept of the 'ideal neighbour' were recognised in the various responses of the Bentilee sample. These elements were classified in order of the level of interaction with neighbours that the particular respondent would prefer to sustain. The elements are listed below, ranked in decreasing levels of interaction:

1) someone you are very close to, a good friend, likes company, intelligent, compatible, similar age and interests;
2) somebody you see a lot of;
3) sociable, willing to pass the day chatting over the garden fence, part of a community ('all one');
4) likes children, and can tolerate their noise;
5) will help out in troubles or emergencies;
6) friendly, willing to say hello when passing on the street, not 'stand-offish';

7) not in and out of your house all the time, not too 'nosey', not too close;

8) considerate, especially in terms of noise;

9) not borrowing;

10) keep themselves to themselves, respect your privacy and private themselves;

11) someone who minds their own business, someone you do not see or hear, completely private and never seen ('don't see anybody and don't want to', 'neighbours aren't friends')

When the element,or elements, mentioned by each respondent were recorded, it became obvious that certain elements were mutually exclusive and others always seemed to appear in specific combinations. From the combinations of element recorded by each informant, it was decided that they could be classified into one of five 'neighbouring types' (Table 4.9).[34]

Table 4.9

Classification of neighbouring types

Neighbouring type	Level of interaction	Elements recorded
I	High	1 2 3 4 5 6
II	↓	2 3 4 5 6 7
III		5 6 7
IV	↓	6 7 8 9 10
V	Low	7 8 9 10 11

Only type I would welcome social interaction within their own homes. All the other types prefer neighbouring activities and interaction to take place predominantly, if not exclusively, outside the house. The Bentilee

respondents were, by general definition, working class (all fell within socio-economic groups III, IV or V) and presumably a typology of middle class 'ideal neighbouring' activities would be significantly different in this aspect of indoor-versus-outdoor social interaction. Although not assessed perhaps as objectively as may be desired, the neighbouring typology provides a useful attitudinal index for analysis against other measures of community attachment and involvement recorded by this survey.

Further behavioural characteristics

To add to the information on the behavioural habits of the p.q.s. sample, data was collected from the v.i.s. respondents on other potentially community-based activities such as employment, schooling and leisure, as well as more fundamental aspects of community structure including patterns of kinship and acquaintance and ties with area of previous residence. Assessment of the use of neighbourhood facilities could easily be made as there could be no ambiguity as to whether a particular amenity or institution was situated on or off the estate, within the neighbourhood unit or outside it. Kinship and friendship are elements which act so as to cement communities together. Of the v.i.s. respondents, 30 (58%) had relatives other than their own household living on the estate, and 13 (25%) claimed to have two or more families of relatives in Bentilee. 27 (52%) respondents said that 'most of their friends live on the estate', but nevertheless 32 (62%) of those interviewed claimed to visit friends or relatives not living in Bentilee at least once a week.

Following the work of Bott,[35] informants were asked whether 'most of their friends knew one another' in a big circle, independently of the couple concerned, or whether their friends only met and knew one another through

the respondent and his or her household. It was hoped that this question would reveal what Bott termed the 'connectedness of family networks', and would increase knowledge of patterns of social interaction on the estate. Finally, it was thought that the strength of the relationship which a respondent had with the area he or she used to live in might affect behaviour in and identification with present area of residence. The previous area of residence was ascertained and respondents were asked whether they had connections with this area via eight specified channels.[36] Only eight (15%) informants claimed to have no connection at all; 31 (60%) stated that they visited their previous neighbourhood for one, two or three of the reasons named on the list; and 13 (25%) said that they had connections in four or more respects. For the majority of the sample, maintaining contacts with 'previous area of residence' was relatively easy as 48 (92%) had moved eight kilometres or less in moving to Bentilee, and 39 of these had moved five kilometres or less.

4.8 *Extensions of the Socio-Spatial Typology*

The v.i.s. respondents had already been classified into one of the four socio-spatial types before the interviews were conducted. Indeed they represented the extremes of these four polar types. The results of the v.i.s. can be used to assess the propositions suggested by the typology. The simple cross-tabulations are recorded in Table 4.10. The verbal interview figures do show some obvious differences between the four socio-spatial categories. Socio-spatial types 1 and 4 stand out most dramatically.

Table 4.10

Attitudinal attachment		Socio-spatial type	Age						Desire to move		'Ideal neighbour'					Visit people outside Bentilee				Do friends know one another		Do friends live on the estate		Relatives on the estate				Number of children					
			16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	65+	yes	no	high 1	2	3	4	low 5	high 1	2	3	low 4	yes	no	yes	no	none	one family	one or more families	average	0	1	2	3	4+	average
High use	High	1(n=11)	0	2	5	2	1	1	2	9	0	6	5	0	0	5	2	3	1	10	1	10	1	3	2	6	2.1	2	2	4	1	2	2.2
Low use		2(n=17)	1	2	10	2	1	1	6	11	0	5	6	3	3	10	1	5	1	9	8	9	8	7	6	4	1.3	5	4	5	2	1	1.2
High use	Low	3(n= 8)	2	3	1	2	0	0	4	4	1	2	2	3	0	4	3	0	1	4	4	3	5	5	2	1	0.7	0	1	3	2	2	2.4
Low use		4(n=16)	1	5	2	7	0	1	13	3	2	6	6	2	0	13	2	0	1	10	6	6	10	7	7	2	0.7	7	2	2	3	2	1.6
		TOTAL	4	12	18	13	2	3	25	27	3	19	19	8	3	32	8	8	4	33	19	28	24	22	17	13		14	9	14	8	7	

Attitudinal attachment		Socio-spatial type	Number of connections with previous area							How does Bentilee compare with previous area				Years of residence in Bentilee								Number of dissatisfactions (out of six)							Car ownership		Sample sub areas of Bentilee			
			0	1	2	3	4	5+	average	better	same	worse	QNA*	0-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13-15	16-18	19+	average	0	1	2	3	4	5	average	yes	no	central	northern	eastern	southern
High use	High	1(n=11)	2	1	5	1	2	0	2.0	7	3	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	6	17	0	3	2	2	4	0	2.7	6	5	7	1	2	1
Low use		2(n=17)	3	5	5	1	2	1	2.0	4	9	3	1	2	1	1	1	3	1	8	15	1	1	3	5	7	0	2.9	7	10	6	4	3	4
High use	Low	3(n= 8)	2	3	0	1	2	0	1.7	4	2	0	2	2	2	1	1	0	0	2	9	1	0	3	4	0	0	2.2	2	6	6	0	2	0
Low use		4(n=16)	1	1	2	6	2	4	3.2	1	4	11	0	2	4	1	2	3	1	3	11	0	1	0	4	4	7	4.0	5	11	9	2	3	2
		TOTAL	8	10	12	9	8	5		16	18	15	3	6	7	4	5	8	3	1		2	5	8	15	15	7		20	32	28	7	10	7

Attitudinal attachment		Socio-spatial type	Respondents using named facilities							
			Churches		Clubs		Public houses		Sports	
			Bentilee	elsewhere	Bentilee	elsewhere	Bentilee	elsewhere	Bentilee	elsewhere
High use	High	1(n=11)	5	0	9	0	3	2	5	1
Low use		2(n=17)	4	0	8	4	6	2	3	5
High use	Low	3(n= 8)	3	0	6	1	3	1	1	0
Low use		4(n=16)	1	5	4	6	4	5	0	3
		TOTAL	13	5	27	11	16	10	9	9

* QNA = question not answered

Socio-spatial type 1 (11 households)

Those with a high attitudinal attachment to Bentilee and a high use of neighbourhood facilities are far less likely to want to move, more likely to want a high level of social interaction with neighbours; more likely to have friends and relatives living on the estate, to think Bentilee better than their previous area of residence, to have lived longer on the estate; and less likely to be dissatisfied with neighbourhood amenities or to use off-estate recreation facilities. This person identifies with the neighbourhood unit and uses the local facilities a great deal. He is likely to have lived on the estate for a long time, and to have developed a close circle of friends on the estate. He exhibits the patterns of behaviour and feelings of local attachment which planners are always trying to create in new housing developments.

Socio-spatial type 4 (16 households)

At the other extreme is the resident falling into this cateogry, who has a definite desire to move, visits people outside Bentilee more frequently, has less friends and relatives living near him, has far more connections with his previous area of residence and generally thinks it is (or was) better than Bentilee, is far more dissatisfied with neighbourhood amenities, and is more likely to go off the estate in search of sport, entertainment or spiritual satisfaction. This is the person who hates Bentilee, who reacts to living there by refusing to become a part of the place. He gets away from the estate as often as he can, and has a very strong desire to move off the estate, but is restrained by lack of suitable council accommodation. Several respondents claimed to have been on the exchange list for over 10 years.[37] The reasons for so disliking

the estate must obviously be unique in each case, but it seems much more difficult for someone to settle down in a new area if they were happy and very attached to the neighbourhood in which they used to live. The distance of the move to Bentilee was in most cases less than eight kilometres, and so these residents remain physically and perceptively very close to their old neighbourhoods and their old way of life.

Socio-spatial type 3 (8 households)

Those with a low attitudinal attachment but high use of facilities dislike living in Bentilee but not as much as those in the previous category - that is, they have fewer dissatisfactions with amenities, and are less likely to want to move. Those people are not very likely to have relatives living on the estate, or to have as many friends within the estate as the other groupings. What is most interesting is that these residents are generally younger than those in other categories, have on average not lived as long on the estate and yet have fewer connections with their previous area of residence. The really significant figures are that they have an average of 2.4 children (higher than any other group), and six out of eight do not have cars. The combination of children, no cars and living close to the central shopping area means that the time, expense and effort involved in travelling around the Potteries using alternative facilities are too great. If one were to judge a neighbourhood unit on the level of the use of facilities, one could be misled into thinking that this reflected a high attitudinal attachment to the area. However, this group shows that such a high level of identification with neighbourhood does not follow from a high use of local amenities.

Socio-spatial type 2 (17 households)

Residents falling into this category have a high attitudinal attachment and yet a low use of facilities. In most tables they fall between the extreme scores of socio-spatial types 1 and 4, but certain points are of importance. This group are likely to have lived on the estate almost as long as those in type 1, and to have many relatives on the estate. However, they are not so tied to using neighbourhood facilities. It was hypothesised that this group lead a 'privatised' existence and simply want to eat and sleep in Bentilee and otherwise have as little to do with the place as possible. This group were far more likely than socio-spatial type 1 to have friends who did not know one another independent of the family concerned (a loosely-knit family network in Bott's terminology), and all three of the respondents who fell into neighbouring type V (wanting no interaction with neighbours at all) belonged to socio-spatial type 2. Thus, there is a tendency towards a 'privatised' life-style and an ethos of non-involvement and non-participation in community affairs. Although in no way conclusive the typology above appears to represent four different reactions to living in Bentilee.

4.9 *Analysis of Results in the North Staffordshire Context*

In trying to assess the relevance of these findings it is perhaps worthwhile to consider factors at work in Bentilee which are probably of less importance in other parts of the country. There is a long tradition of women working in the pottery industry, particularly after marriage. This may have some bearing on attitudes held towards local area and use

of that area's facilities and amenities. Socio-spatial type 2, those with strong feelings of attachment yet low use of facilities, may have been over-represented in this study or, at least, the development of a 'privatised' life-style by those with few or no children may have been a relatively common feature of community life in the Potteries for generations. The fact that working wives are away from the neighbourhood for most of the day means that of necessity their level of social interaction with neighbours, with community life in general, must be lower than average. When both husband and wife work outside the neighbourhood, their opportunity for using off-estate facilities is increased. They are likely to lead a more consumer-orientated life-style than their neighbours; and yet, if left in peace by those who live around them, may be well satisfied with the place where they live. (They are unlikely to be dissatisfied by lack of neighbourhood amenities of which they would make no use.)

Another relevant factor here may be the polynuclear structure of the city of Stoke-on-Trent. Before 1910 the present city was six independent towns, each with its own town hall and its own traditions. Even today, although Stoke and Hanley are most important in terms of commerce, entertainment and employment, the city of Stoke-on-Trent does not have a universally recognised city centre in the way that most other cities do. Thus, it is difficult for a native of the Potteries to feel part of Stoke-on-Trent; he or she is still more likely to relate to one of the townships - to Longton, Hanley or Burslem. This fragmented sense of place may possibly help to create very strong feelings of local attachment within some people. When rehoused in Bentilee, these people still have feelings of identity with the areas they used to live in, and

for some people these feelings still exist 20 years or more after moving to Bentilee, and in the cases of Meir and Dresden, over 10 years since their previous areas have been pulled down and redeveloped.

Bentilee is just part of a very complex system of urban linkages operative in the Potteries - linkages in terms of employment, kinship, friendship, recreation, shopping, and feelings of local identity. There is thus a conflict between Bentilee as a dormitory suburb with shops and schools and multifarious links with the rest of the Potteries, and Bentilee as a neighbourhood unit, a separate entity with its own sense of community. The fact that the Bentilee site was so close to the rest of the Potteries meant that it was not necessary to provide much new employment, costly transport links or other facilities that were easily accessible elsewhere in the conurbation. These features, which made Bentilee economically viable as a new housing development, have militated against the rapid development of Bentilee as a neighbourhood unit encouraging feelings of local attachment. The fact that only 53% of the Bentilee sample felt 'at home' (as opposed to the 78% recorded by the CAS national sample) may be due to reasons such as these.

4.10 *Conclusions of the Pilot Survey*

People react to living in Bentilee in different ways. Four ideal types of reaction have been identified, and it has been shown that feelings of attitudinal attachment relate to community-based behaviour and elements of community structure in a complex manner. The generalised picture of Bentilee is of a fairly new housing estate, well endowed with shops and

schools, and with wide and extensive links with the rest of the Potteries. Some people try to maintain as many connections as possible with their area of previous residence, and this is to the detriment of feeling part of Bentilee, of feeling 'at home' on the estate. Others also dislike living on the estate, but through force of circumstance, use the neighbourhood-based facilities offered in the central part of the estate. Others still are happy to live there, but are mobile and independent enough not to be tied to using local amenities. Finally, there are residents who are very satisfied with life on the estate, who use the facilities a great deal and who try to get involved in community life.

In essence the neighbourhood unit "harks back to an ideal of village life in the past, which may or (more likely) may not have ever existed".[38] However, social and economic changes over the last 20 years have made planning for such an idealised village, imbued with 'community spirit', increasingly meaningless. Keller sums up these changes and the relevance of them:

> "The rise of new values and institutions, the shift from an extended to a conjugal, compassionate, family system, and the availability of alternative sources of amusement and employment, also change the content and meaning of neighbouring. It is not so much a decline in interpersonal neighbouring that we observe here, as a change in the organisation of life itself accompanied by new values, priorities and preferences."[39]

To look for community spirit in terms of membership of clubs, use of local services or social interaction among neighbours may be missing the point, as some people at least can be quite satisfied with their local area if they have many ties outside their neighbourhood and yet lead a 'privatised' existence within it.

The neighbourhood unit concept was the principal tool by which town planning in Britain sought to achieve social objectives during the 1940s and 1950s. It was the major link between the theoretical studies of community, and the reality of people's everyday lives. It was an attempt to foster community spirit in new residential developments, but it failed. Of significance to this present study its failure was obviously partly due to the fact that it assumed that all households would have similar aspirations and ambitions and would react to newly developed estates in the ways in which their architects expected them to react. The socio-spatial typology represents four different reactions to living in an area, and may offer a clue as to why planning concepts such as the neighbourhood unit did not work.

4.11 *Assessment of the Pilot Survey*

The conclusions of the pilot survey indicated that the relationship between attitudinal attachment and use of facilities was a fruitful topic to explore. The development of the socio-spatial typology was perhaps an inevitable outcome of the objectives of the study and the survey methods employed.

The methodological conclusions drawn from the pilot survey were also quite favourable:-

1. The technique of dispatching a short postal questionnaire with covering letter, collecting it in person, and later returning to conduct an interview, appeared to be very successful.

2. On average the interviews took about 20 minutes to complete, and none of the interviewees refused to answer any question because it was of a too personal or too confidential nature.

3. The questions themselves appeared to be relatively easy to understand. Most respondents also answered the apparently difficult questions on the interview schedule with ease.[40]

   However, some questions had been worded rather poorly:-

   a) 'Are you registered with a doctor whose practice is NOT on the estate?'
      Although this is what the survey wished to ascertain, asking it as a negative question caused some confusion with some informants.

   b) 'Does your household own, or have access to, a motor car?'
      The problem here was that a few respondents, despite owning a car, answered 'No'. They read the question as asking do they have ACCESS FOR a motor car, ie a drive and/or an adjacent garage, which they did not have.

4. On the technical side, the pilot study was also a success. Most of the answers were pre-coded, and the ones which were not (for example, the 'area' questions and the neighbouring types) proved relatively simple to post-code.

The questionnaire was analysed by means of the standard SPSS package, with the data being sorted into simple breakdowns and cross-tabulations.

The pilot survey confirmed the validity of both the general concepts under examination and of the detailed methodology, and thus laid a very sound foundation for the main survey discussed in Chapter 5.

NOTES AND REFERENCES - CHAPTER 4

GENERAL NOTE Most of sections 4.4 'Background to the Pilot Study' to 4.10 'Conclusions of the Pilot Study' were originally published by the author in 1975 - Edwards, T.W. (1975) 'Neighbourhood Attachment and its Relationship to Patterns of Behaviour: A Study of Council Tenants in Stoke-on-Trent'. North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies, vol. 15. 1975.

1. See above - Chapter 3, Part 3 - 'Aims and Objectives of the Study'.
2. Isolated urban neighbourhoods are relatively rare, and according to Keller (1968) op. cit. (Ch. 3-99), are one of the few types of easily identifiable neighbourhoods in modern cities.
3. See Location Map - figure 4.1.
4. Herbert, D.T. & Rodgers, H.B. (1967) 'Space Relationships in Neighbourhood Planning'. Town and Country Planning 35 (1967) pp. 196-98.
5. Durant, R. (1939) op. cit. (Ch. 1-54).
6. Royal Commission on Local Government in England, 'Community Attitudes Survey, England: Research Studies No. 9'. HMSO (1969).
7. For example, Kuper, L. (1953) op. cit. (Ch. 2-19).
8. Young, M & Willmott, P. (1962) op. cit. (Ch. 2-38).
9. Elias, N. & Scotson, J.L. (1965) op. cit. (Ch. 2-40).
10. For example; Kuper, L. (1953) op. cit. (Ch. 2-19)
    Durant, R. (1939) op. cit. (Ch. 1-54).
11. For example, mentioned in; Musgrove, F. (1963) op. cit. (Ch. 2-49).
    Bracey, H.E. (1964) op. cit. (Ch. 2-51).
12. For example, by Kuper, L. (1953) op. cit. (Ch. 2-19).
    Bott, E. (1957) op. cit. (Ch. 2-55).
13. For example, Willmott, P. (1963) op. cit. (Ch. 2-42)
14. Bott, E. (1957) op. cit. (Ch. 2-55).
15. Community Attitudes Survey, (1969) op. cit. (Ch. 4-6).

16. For example, Kuper, L. (1953) op. cit. (Ch. 2-19).
Young, M. & Willmott, P. (1962) op. cit. (Ch. 2-38).
Keller, S. (1968) op. cit. (Ch. 3-99).

17. A similar stance was taken on exploring the'connectedness of family networks', where a single important question from Bott's (1957 - op. cit. Ch. 2-55) survey was used to give an indication of the relevance of the topic.

18. Kuper, L. (1953) op. cit. (Ch. 2-19).

19. Herbert, D.T. & Rodgers, H.B. (1967) op. cit. (Ch. 4-4).

20. Before the questionnaires were despatched, the Planning Department and the local Social Services office were visited and notified of the intentions of the survey. Both agencies were also able to offer some information as to the number and types of tenants living in Bentilee. The Community Centre, two local Working Men's Clubs and the local police station were also informed of the objectives of the survey, and advised that the author would be visiting addresses in Bentilee for several weeks.

21. See Plan of Bentilee Estate - figure 4.2.

22. The estate is referred to simply as 'Bentilee' in the text, as its official title is now seldom used.

23. Plant, J.W. (1957) 'The Modern Conception of Housing Development' IN City of Stoke-on-Trent Housing 1919-1957.

24. The Dudley Report (1944) op. cit. (Ch. 4-4).

25. Herbert, D.T. & Rodgers, H.B. (1967) op. cit. (Ch. 4-4).

26. 53% of respondents answered 'yes' to this question, 44% answered 'no', and the remaining 3% (7 persons) did not answer the question.

27. Herbert, D.T. & Rodgers, H.B. (1967) op. cit. (Ch. 4-4).

28. Living close to the neighbourhood centre is an advantage for some people, but for others the increased level of noise and litter produced by inconsiderate fellow residents and their children act as a dampener on any desires to participate in community life.

29. Herbert, G. (1963) op. cit. (Ch. 1-39) p. 187.

30. For example, those cited in Chapter 2.

31. Assessment of attitudinal attachment was based upon response to the questions: 'Is there an area around here, where you are now living, which would say you belonged to and where you feel "at home"?'.
'Supposing you had to move away from Bentilee, how sorry or pleased would you be?'; and
'Do you find the estate a friendly place?'
The use of facilities measure was based upon response to the questions:'Do you use the Bentilee shopping centre for your day-to-day shopping needs?';
'How often do you go into the Harold Clowes Community Centre, for any reason whatsoever,'; and
'Are you registered with a doctor whose practice is on the estate?'.

32. The six facilities were: schools, shops, entertainments, sports, employment, and parks and recreation grounds.

33. This question was extracted from the analysis of neighbouring made by Kuper, L. (1953) op. cit. (Ch. 2-19).

34. Neighbouring type I is based upon element 1, but it implicitly includes elements 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6, as respondents who like neighbours to be close friends, would obviously like to 'see a lot of them', ' say hello when passing on the street', etc. Similarly, neighbouring type V (the extremely reserved neighbour), if he wishes never to see his neighbour, also must want them 'not to borrow' from him and so on.

35. Bott, E (1957) op. cit. (Ch. 2-55).

36. The eight channels were: relatives, friends, church, entertainments, sports or recreation, shopping, work, clubs and associations.

37. Unless a resident has a 'special need' the only realistic way somebody can move from Bentilee to another council house in Stoke-on Trent is to find a council tenant on another estate who is willing to exchange houses.

38. Mann, P. (1958) 'The Socially Balanced Neighbourhood Unit'. Town Planning Review, 29 (1958) p. 96.

39. Keller, S. (1966) op. cit. (Ch. 3-99) IN Bell, G. & Tyrwhitt, J. (Eds) (1972) op. cit. (Ch. 3-99) p. 285.

40. For example: 'Do your friends know one another?' and 'What is your idea of an ideal neighbour?'.

CHAPTER 5

THE PLANNING AND OPERATION OF THE MAIN SURVEY

This chapter will outline the reasoning behind the choice of areas for the main survey, offer a brief description of the areas themselves, and finally give a summary account of the mechanics of the main survey.

5.1 *Selection of Main Survey Area*

In order for the aims and objectives of the study[1] to be satisfied, the field area had to offer the following:

(a) it must include 'ordinary' people living in 'typical' urban settings. That is, it must not be a relatively newly-constructed area where local ties and affiliations have not yet developed;[2] nor must it be predominantly made up of residents who constitute the extremes of the social spectrum, either by affluence, age, or race. The area or areas to be studied should be "patches of urban fabric",[3] forming part of an unbroken residential mass where one community or neighbourhood invisibly blends into the next with few obvious major physical or social boundaries.

(b) In order to study both 'affective' and 'utilitarian' aspects of neighbourhood life, any area studied must possess a certain range of local facilities and services. It would clearly be

atypical to study an urban area where certain commonplace facilities were not within reasonable walking distance. However, since an area would have to be part of a relatively undifferentiated urban residential district, some services and facilities may be nearby, but others a considerable distance away. Service areas will overlap to a high degree, and form part of a complex web of commercial, administrative, and recreational provision. The factors which had been controlled to a certain extent in the pilot study (in as much as Bentilee was a relatively isolated and self-contained estate) would become more complicated in a more 'typical' urban environment.

(c) The areas chosen should not be obviously homogeneous in a way which would not permit the exploration of the dichotomies mentioned in various community studies - for example, sociable versus reserved neighbours, and rough versus respectable residents.

Although the sample for the pilot survey had been drawn from four sub-areas almost by accident,[4] it was decided that areal comparisons should form one of the major components of the analysis of the main survey. Furthermore, if it was feasible to interview several hundred respondents, it seemed more appropriate to draw them from several small areas, rather than one large one.

It was thought to be theoretically more relevant to choose several contrasting areas which were relatively close to one another in the same part of a city, so as to hold certain factors fairly constant (for example, distance from the city centre, pull of a local 'district'

shopping centre). It would have been possible to select several different small areas from different cities all over Britain. This approach was rejected however since it would have introduced a possible element of regional behavioural differences as well as posing severe logistic problems.

A major city, with large unbroken expanses of predominantly residential land would offer the most suitable characteristics and for this reason, Stoke-on-Trent had to be discounted. Stoke-on-Trent exhibits a poly-nucleated structure (see Fig. 4.1) with many gaps in the residential fabric caused by mining and manufacturing activities.

From a wide range of alternatives Manchester was chosen for two fundamental reasons:-

(i) The author's knowledge of Manchester could be used to speed up the search for the actual small areas which would be surveyed.

(ii) The City of Manchester Planning Department had undertaken a major analysis of 1971 Census data at enumeration district level; this information, could be used to form a sampling framework and to further assist the process of choosing the small survey-areas.

5.2 *Selection of Sample Sub-Areas*

The boundaries of the pilot study sub-areas had been identified by plan and site inspections. It was hoped that the boundaries of the main survey sub-areas would be more rationally defined, and would coincide with other administrative or social survey small area boundaries.

Local authority electoral polling districts were briefly considered, but dismissed as they were too large (c. 600-800 addresses), and were not used for the collection of any social information.

Census enumeration districts were found to be well suited as units to form the sub-areas for the main survey for several reasons:-

1. They fit in with the notion of "patches of urban fabric", and do not have connotations of being identifiable communities or neighbourhoods. They do not usually have clear-cut or easily visible boundaries, and are not constructed so as to form any 'natural area' or self-contained community.

2. Enumeration districts are of an approximately equal size, thus making comparisons easier to establish.

3. In Manchester, in the 1971 Census, e.d.s contained an average of 150-350 households. This would allow a proportion equal to or better than 1 in 4 roughly sampled in the Bentilee sub-areas, with an expectation of perhaps 50-55% overall response rates.

4. The e.d.s are the basic small area units of the national census, and thus have been used as a basic unit of analysis of census information. As well as detailing the social characteristics of each e.d. population, the census also contains a certain amount of physical information - notably on the state of housing stock. The City of Manchester, through its Planning and Social Services Departments undertook a major statistical analysis of 1971 census information at e.d. level. *(See Appendix 5)*

They were able to obtain census data for each of the 1186 e.d.s in Manchester for 45 variables. To this they added a further 16 variables from the records kept by Local Authority departments and the Area Health Authority.

The author was given access to the City of Manchester Social Information Study (S.I.S.) Raw Data, and the enumeration districts were finally chosen after detailed inspection of this information.

The criteria used for this decision were as follows:-

(a) the e.d.s should be in the same general part of the city (for reasons stated above).

(b) the e.d.s should be different from one another, along certain crucial dimensions such as property tenure, type of dwelling and social class mix.

(c) the e.d.s should not be exceptionally small (below 150 households) or very large (over 350 households), as this would make the operation of the survey more complex, and might destroy points of comparison at the analysis stage.

(d) the e.d.s should not include large numbers of non-British residents.

The number of sub-areas chosen was partly determined by the Manchester S.I.S. analysis, and partly by the upper limit of interviews which it would be possible for the author to conduct within the time scales of the project. This upper limit was approximately 300 interviews, which

could yield for example, six areas with 50 interviews in each, four with 75 interviews, three with 100 interviews, etc. A more detailed description of the Social Information Study is given in Appendix 5, but very briefly, it used a cluster analysis technique to manipulate 27 Census and non-Census variables into five clusters. However, one of the five clusters represented a 'pathological community' inasmuch as it typified an area in transition, subject to rapid physical and social changes (including a rapid increase in the number of New Commonwealth born citizens). As one of the aims of this study was to study 'typical' urban settings, and as this cluster was found almost exclusively in the inner ring of suburbs, it was decided to omit it from the sample of sub-areas. This would leave four sub-areas (one from each of the remaining well defined clusters), which would allow approximately 75 interviews to be completed in each. This satisfied the requirements of statistical respectability, and the time limits implicitly imposed upon the project.

The Greater Manchester County Planning Department had undertaken an analysis of census data at ward level.[5] Although of only marginal relevance to the final choice of e.d.s, it did reveal that a large part of southern Manchester was comprised of wards which were fairly average for the County in the social and demographic characteristics displayed. This area stretched from the massive redevelopment schemes of the inner city in Hulme and Moss Side, to the River Mersey. It included the wards of Chorlton, Rusholme, Alexandra Park, Barlow Moor, Burnage, Didsbury, Old Moat, Withington and Levenshulme. This area was initially searched in an attempt to find four e.d.s representing the four clusters, which were physically close to one another, and ideally in the same ward.

Alas, such a range of e.d.s was not found within any one ward, although there did seem to be ample variation within one kilometre (three quarters of a mile) of Withington shopping centre. Withington was the third in a string of four medieval townships (Rusholme, Fallowfield, Withington and Didsbury) situated along the major southern routeway from Manchester town centre. These townships have since developed into suburban shopping/ entertainments/administrative district centres, and are still referred to locally as 'villages'. Withington itself had a core of working men's terraced houses together with many larger detached and semi-detached properties for the more wealthy. It was swallowed up by outward residential expansion in the late 1920s and has large municipal and private estates in its hinterland. As such it offered an ideal range of property types and housing tenures to suit the purposes of the project.

The four areas chosen (see Location Map - Figure 5.1) are described in more detail in the next section, but very briefly comprise:-

(1) An area of owner-occupiers

(2) An area of local authority tenants

(3) An area of 'flat dwellers' living in furnished rented accommodation

(4) A 'residual' area of traditional or stable working class residents occupying unfurnished privately-rented accommodation.

The areas were not finally chosen until after a site inspection. The first three areas seemed admirably representative of their types. However, the fourth area immediately began to pose problems. There were 8-10 e.d.s close to the centre of Withington village which appeared broadly

suitable from the S.I.S. Raw Data. However, between 1971 and 1975, the majority of terraced houses in all these e.d.s had been demolished through the City of Manchester Renewal Programme. The e.d finally chosen as representative of this type was close to the centre of Fallowfield village, although still less than one mile away from Withington. This area also included several other features which made it differ from an ideal example of the type of area envisaged for the 'residual' area. However, by 1975, it is probable that few such 'residual' areas still existed anywhere in southern Manchester, and the e.d. chosen was probably as close as any.

5.3 *Descriptions of the Four Sample Sub-Areas*

Introduction

The purpose of this section is to give a brief description of the four enumeration districts that were chosen for investigation. 'Thumb-nail' sketches are drawn for the enumeration districts (for simplicity, referred to as 'Areas') in tabular (Table 5.1), pictorial (Figures 5.2-5.13), and narrative form. Material is presented which could be surmised from census data (Table 5.1), a map of the city (Location Map - Figure 5.1), and an inspection of each Area. The object of this exercise is to present background information necessary to the comprehension of the results of the survey; it is not intended to represent the four Areas as distinct communities with corporate entities or spirits. To allow comparisons between the four Areas, all the principal social variables from the 1971 Census are presented in a single table - Table 5.1.

Figure 5.1

LOCATION MAP OF THE FOUR SUB-AREAS

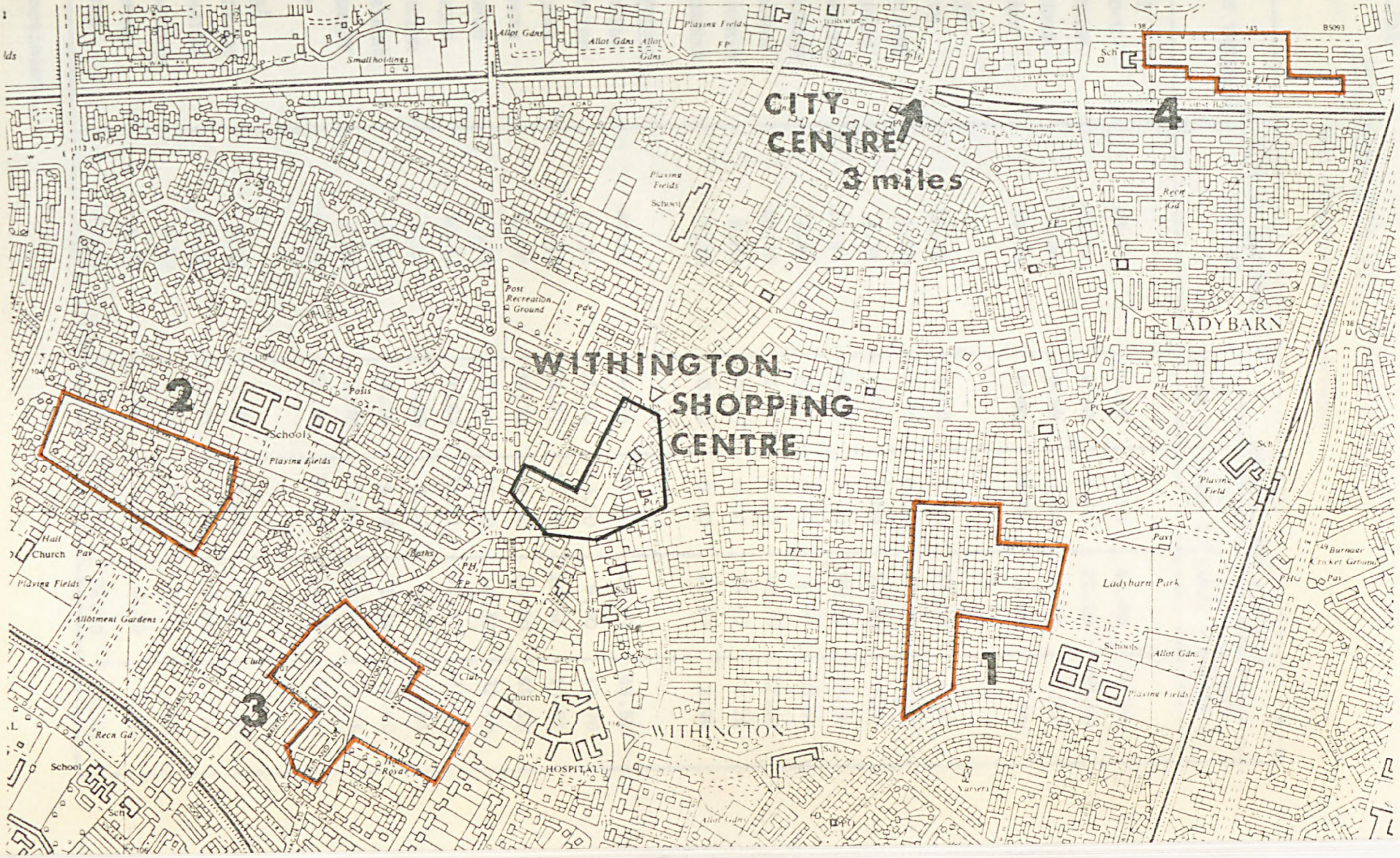


Table 5.1

1971 Census Data (From Manchester S.I.S.)

(all figures in percentages)

CENSUS VARIABLE*	CITY OF MANCHESTER AVERAGE	ENUMERATION DISTRICT			
		F9 (AREA 1)	J42 (AREA 2)	F20 (AREA 3)	H53 (AREA 4)
Tenure					
OWNOCC	33.32	91.10	0.50	43.40	46.50
RENTUNF	24.42	6.80	0.00	22.10	47.50
RENTFUR	8.26	0.50	0.00	34.40	5.50
LARENT	33.72	0.00	99.50	0.00	0.50
Housing					
FLATS	16.98	0.00	2.00	43.00	5.60
MANSIONS	6.50	4.70	0.00	27.00	1.00
SHAREDW	4.31	0.00	0.00	34.40	4.00
UNDEROCC	33.93	48.20	35.20	30.70	47.00
OVACROWD	2.81	0.00	1.50	2.00	0.00
MISAMEN	30.49	1.00	0.50	30.30	17.20
BATHSHAR	6.02	0.00	0.00	25.62	4.26
WCINSHAR	7.38	0.00	0.00	27.57	2.94
Demographic					
FERTILE	44.62	36.96	26.74	26.67	48.51
SCHKIDS	15.83	15.50	13.90	9.50	13.70
BIGFAM	16.12	13.61	17.09	10.66	10.61
LITFAM	53.09	48.70	58.80	60.60	55.10
OLDFAM	27.55	25.10	32.70	14.30	32.40
SINGLE	30.52	26.82	33.91	35.95	31.04
PENSION	5.14	4.28	8.52	6.35	4.65
VERIAGED	3.73	4.28	5.74	1.34	5.02
AGEMOST	4.38	6.70	6.61	5.02	5.95
65+	13.25	15.26	20.87	12.71	15.62
Social					
IRISHIM	5.33	2.30	6.50	7.80	7.70
FOREIGN	1.30	1.12	0.17	3.05	0.74
NEWCOMIN	3.13	3.35	0.35	2.01	7.81
GENTWO	1.37	0.60	0.00	0.00	3.80
NOCAR	68.44	43.50	74.90	54.50	71.20

/Continued...

Table 5.1 (continued)

CENSUS VARIABLE*	CITY OF MANCHESTER AVERAGE	ENUMERATION DISTRICT			
		F9 (AREA 1)	J42 (AREA 2)	F20 (AREA 3)	H53 (AREA 4)
Social (cont'd)					
TWOCARS	3.83	9.95	3.02	6.56	2.02
CLASS I		21.05	0.00	16.67	0.00
CLASS II		42.11	14.29	33.33	20.00
CLASS III		36.84	33.33	29.17	40.00
CLASS IV		0.00	28.57	16.67	20.00
CLASS V		0.00	23.81	4.17	20.00
MOBILE	11.17	3.72	6.96	19.29	7.43
MOBILE V		33.52	22.61	32.15	14.87
WORKCAR		51.72	5.71	27.50	36.00
WORKFOOT		6.90	8.57	15.50	16.00
WORKBUS		24.14	68.57	40.00	36.00

* For definitions of Census Variables used in S.I.S. see Appendix 5

Area 1

Enumeration District code: F9

Principal social characteristic: Owner-occupiers

This Area is about 10 minutes walk from the Withington village shopping centre. There is also a smaller shopping centre of about 40 establishments along Ladybarn Lane, only a few hundred metres from this enumeration district. The Area is adjacent to a small park, and, similar to the rest of Withington, there are no largeindustrial sites in the immediate vicinity.

This sub-area is comprised almost exclusively of owner-occupied semi-detached houses built between 1926 and 1929. The houses are not large or spectacular, but the Area exudes an air of middle class, comfortable affluence typical of suburbia in other British cities.

It is typical of 'cluster 1' of the Manchester S.I.S. study in that it exhibits high levels of owner-occupation and car ownership, and little sharing or absence of basic amenities. There is no overcrowding or sharing of dwellings and the level of under-occupation is high. However, over a third of the households in 1971 had moved to their present address in the last five years, suggesting that the Area might provide suitable first homes for young couples who later move up the housing market.

Overall, this enumeration district appears to be an area of relative affluence in a quiet and convenient part of southern Manchester.

Area 1

Figure 5.2 Semis along Hatherley Road

Figure 5.3 Tree-lined Parsonage Road

Area 2

Enumeration District code: J42

Principal social characteristic: Local authority tenants

This enumeration district is also about 10 minutes walk from Withington village, although the area is also served by three small shopping 'parades' - each of about six to 15 premises. This sub-area is adjacent to a large area of recreational land, and only a few hundred metres from Withington Hospital. There are no industrial uses nearby, although the hospital is a major employer in the locality.

This Area is part of a large inter-war council estate constructed in the late 1920s. It comprises of approximately 40% semi-detached houses, 40% terraced houses, and 20% flats in two-storey blocks. There has also been some recent in-filling with aged persons bungalows. The estate was laid out in long boulevards, sweeping circles and numerous cul-de-sacs. Being off the main roads, this Area gets no through traffic and is a very quiet area.

As part of the Manchester S.I.S. 'cluster 2', this enumeration district consists almost totally of local authority tenants. It is a relatively poor area, but the housing conditions are far better than the Manchester average. The number of aged persons, and the proportion of households containing at least one old person are both high. Combined with the fact that only 22% of households had changed address in the five years prior to the 1971 Census, this Area appeared to be residentially very stable.

Area 2

Figure 5.4 Heysham Avenue, a typical cul-de-sac

Figure 5.5 Golborne Avenue, flats (at end of block) and houses (in centre)

Area 3

Enumeration District code: F20

Principal social characteristics: Flat-dwellers

This Area is within 500 metres of the centre of Withington village, and within 250 metres of a smaller shopping centre (of about 30 shops) on Burton Road. It is close to a swimming baths, but perhaps 10-15 minutes walk from the nearest area of public recreational land. There are several small industrial premises (car repair workshops and warehouses) adjacent to this enumeration district.

This sub-area is split into two by a derelict timber yard. One side is comprised of substantial terraced houses built around the turn of the century, together with some recent in-filling with semi-detached properties. This part of the enumeration district bears several signs of gentrification, and indeed the 1971 Census revealed that 50% of the households were social classes I or II. The other side of the Area is a mixture of very large pre-1914 semi-detached houses (many of which have been sub-divided into flats), small pre-1914 terraced properties and modern self-contained flats (built by a Housing Association in 1970).

Tenure types are similarly diverse, with relatively large proportions of owner-occupiers, furnished private tenants, and unfurnished private tenants. There is a preponderance of small households and single people, with many dwellings being shared by several households. There are few school-children and relatively few elderly people. In total this Area is fairly typical of 'bedsitter land'.

Area 3

Figure 5.6 Westbourne Grove, large terraced houses

Figure 5.7 Flat conversions and h.m.o.s along Everett Road

Area 3 (cont'd)

Figure 5.8 Modern Housing Association flats at rear of Redcar Avenue

Figure 5.9 Small terraced houses along Tenby Avenue

Area 4

Enumeration District code: H53

Principal social characteristic: Traditional working class

As explained above in section 5.2, this enumeration district is rather further away from Withington village (approximately one and a half kilometres) than the other Areas, but it is within five minutes walk of Fallowfield village. As a shopping and entertainments centre, Fallowfield is slightly inferior to Withington; but in terms of open space and lack of industrial uses, this Area is equivalent to the previous three.

This sub-area was chosen to represent a 'Residual Area', an enclave of what is often termed 'traditional' or 'respectable' working class society, within a rapidly changing urban fabric. Its salient features - a high proportion of unfurnished, privately-rented accommodation, few large houses, many properties lacking basic amenities, a preponderance of social classes III, IV and V, and corner shops and pubs interspersed amongst the pre-1914 terraces - are similar to the characteristics of other 'traditional' working class areas.

However, it was apparent that the Area had undergone numerous changes since the Census in 1971. Firstly, there had been an influx of students into the Area - it is adjacent to a major university halls complex. Secondly, many Asian families had moved in as it offered an opportunity to purchase cheap houses reasonably close to the traditional immigrant settlement areas in Manchester - Rusholme and Moss Side. Thirdly, because almost half the Area had been declared a G.I.A. - some houses

had been modernised, many others had been purchased by the Council and were undergoing renovation, some properties had been demolished to make way for play areas and off-street car parking.

However, although far from ideal, both in location and in rapidity of change since 1971, this enumeration district still satisfied many of the requirements of a traditional working class area in the Withington district.

Area 4

Figure 5.10 Braemar Road, unimproved side Lindleywood Road

Figure 5.11 Braemar Road, G.I.A. side

Area 4 (cont'd)

Figure 5.12 Rear of Braemar and Brailsford Roads, unimproved side

Figure 5.13 Rear of Braemar Road, G.I.A. side

Similarities between the Four Sub-Areas

The descriptions above of the four Areas have been presented as a preliminary to the areal analysis of the results of the Manchester survey (which follows in chapter 6).

The census profiles of the four enumeration districts indicate that they are all part of non-pathological communities. They do not manifest severe social problems or physical blight. The housing conditions (as represented by overcrowding, shared dwellings, lacking or sharing of basic amenities) are far from being the worst in Manchester. The proportions of immigrants are generally quite low, as is the amount of transience (as measured by the mobility indices). All four Areas are relatively stable; they are not new areas, there are very few new buildings, and at least 65% of the 1971 populations had lived there for over five years. In fact there has been little physical change in any of the Areas for 40 years. None of the Areas has a totally imbalanced social class structure, and certainly they are all surrounded by other socially heterogeneous areas. The four Areas all have a percentage of school-children, lower than the City average; and(apart from Area 3 - the area of flat-dwellers), they all have a higher than average proportion of old people. None of the Areas gives the impression of being either very poor or very affluent.

Other similarities relate to the location of the Areas. All are in the same part of the City with roughly equal access to the City centre, and other parts of the city, and beyond. They all have good access to the major centres of employment within Manchester - the City centre,

Trafford Park and Wythenshawe; and to the commercial and entertainment facilities of the City centre.

Areas 1 and 2 are very alike in many respects. They were both constructed in the late 1920s, predominantly as semi-detached dwellings. Very few houses are shared or overcrowded or lack basic amenities. They both have high proportions of old people and few immigrants. Both are about ten minutes walk from Withington village, and are adjacent to large areas of public open space. The major difference is that one is almost exclusively owner-occupied, whilst the other is almost exclusively local authority-owned housing.

Areas 3 and 4 both fall within the same S.I.S. cluster. Area 3 has many large sub-divided dwellings; but it also has a relatively stable element of owner-occupiers. Area 4 is now the most mixed in terms of property tenure with about 15% of the houses being in Council ownership and subject to major renovations.

In conclusion, it could be said that the four Areas display wide differences, but none exhibits signs of extreme affluence or poverty, or extremes of any of the other factors commonly used in social area and 'community' studies.

5.4 *Mechanics of the Main Survey*

1. Maps of enumeration districts were obtained from Manchester Planning Department
2. The enumeration districts were inspected on the ground, and lists of all addresses within the enumeration district boundaries were drawn up.[6]
3. A sample of 150 addresses was selected from the first enumeration district list using random number tables.[7]
4. The technique of using an informant-completed postal questionnaire followed up with an author-completed interview schedule, had proved successful in the pilot survey in Bentilee. A similar method of approach was used in the main survey. With a few exceptions (mentioned in chapter 4), the questions on both the questionnaire and interview schedule had been both efficient and effective. Thus, the same substantive list of questions was used again, with some obvious alterations to fit the Manchester context.
5. A covering letter *(Appendix 6)* and a postal questionnaire *(Appendix 7)* were sent out to the 150 selected addresses in Area 1 in October 1975.
6. The major difference from the method used in the pilot survey was that when the postal questionnaires were collected, all respondents were asked if they wished to answer the questions on the interview schedule *(Appendix 8)* at the same time. Many were willing to be interviewed straight away, whilst others were re-visited at a mutually agreed time for the interview. In a few instances, informants filled out the postal questionnaire but were unwilling to answer any further questions. The information

which they gave was ignored and not included in the results of the survey - they were treated as simple refusals. Details of questionnaires sent, interviews completed, refusals, non-contacts, etc. are given in *Appendix 9*.

7. 96 interviews were completed in the following five weeks. This was a response rate of 66% - somewhat higher than the 50-55% expected, and high enough to allow a reduction from 150 to 125 in the number of questionnaires sent out in the remaining three survey areas.
8. Questionnaires were despatched, and interviews completed for the three other areas between November 1975 and April 1976. The harsh weather in January and February 1976 slowed down the interviewing operations.
9. Coded responses were transcribed from questionnaires and interview schedules onto computer data sheets; and the information was handled and analysed with the S.P.S.S. package of computer programs in a similar manner to the analysis of the pilot study data. The analysis was finally completed in August 1976.

The results of the main survey are presented in two forms: firstly, in terms of the four sub-areas, and secondly, in terms of the socio-spatial types. These results are presented in the following two chapters.

NOTES AND REFERENCES - CHAPTER 5

1. See above - Chapter 3, Part 3 - 'Aims and Objectives of the Study'.

2. For example, such ties had obviously not yet developed in the 'Greenleigh' studied by Young, M. & Willmott, P. (1962) op. cit. (Ch. 2-38).

3. Reimer, S. (1950) op. cit. (Ch. 3-103).

4. That is, by following the research design of Herbert, D.T. & Rodgers, H.B (1967) op. cit. (Ch. 4-4) in Bentilee.

5. Greater Manchester Metropolitan Planning Department - 'Discussion Note 111: Multivariate Analysis of 1971 Census: A Classification of Wards in Greater Manchester based on their socio-economic and demographic characteristics.

6. In each instance there was a discrepancy of 2 to 6 dwellings between the figures given by the 1971 Census, and the number of properties counted by inspection. These small variations were probably due to the Barnardisation or random modification of the e.d data to preserve confidentiality at the Small Area Statistics level.

7. For example, each property in the first e.d. was assigned a number from 1 to 242. Paired random numbers were drawn from random number tables and read as follows:- 36 becoming 036
   79 becoming 179
   71 becoming 271
   04 becoming 004

   This procedure was followed until 150 separate addresses had been selected.

CHAPTER 6

SOCIAL PROFILES OF THE SURVEY AREAS

6.1 *Introduction*

This chapter presents a straightforward approach to the study of urban residential differentiation, drawing upon the theoretical material presented in chapters 1 to 3. Ecological processes are identified through aggregate data and differences between the four survey areas are investigated. The purpose of this chapter is threefold:-

1. To establish an orthodox ecological analysis of the social areas, as a base for comparison with the more behavioural approach adopted in chapter 7. This latter approach re-works the survey data in an attempt to take into account the desires, motivations and behaviour of individual households, and to avoid the ecological fallacy of assuming relationships from data aggregated at an area level.

2. To confirm that the four sub-areas meet the criteria established in chapter 5, and as such are suitable for this present study. That is, that they are 'typical' urban settings that do not display obvious extremes of wealth or poverty, but are nevertheless quite distinct from one another along certain crucial dimensions such as tenure of property and social status. The four areas can be assessed in terms of the 'idealised' small urban areas which they were chosen to represent.

3. To introduce the survey variables in more detail, and to compare the results obtained with findings produced by other surveys which asked similar questions or covered similar topics. Comparisons are also made with the 1971 Census profiles (or presented in the preceding chapter), and changes since 1971 are discussed.

6.2 *Tabulation Structure*

The formation of presentation will be a series of tables interspersed with brief explanations of the salient features identified. The tables will be presented in a standardised manner under three separate headings: major social indicators; attitudinal attachments to local areas; and use of facilities and services.

The data generated by the survey are a mixture of varieties - nominal, ordinal and interval. In order to produce the tables in a standardised and comparable form, only simple displays and statistics have been used:-

(i) All figures are given in percentages to the nearest one decimal point. The total number in the sample are:

Area 1 n = 96

Area 2 n = 77

Area 3 n = 83

Area 4 n = 72

Overall n = 328

For those variables not relevant to the whole sample, or where certain respondents were unable or refused to answer the relevant total sample sizes are given.

(ii) The figures add up to 100% across each row; that is, for each table the 'Areas' are treated as the independent variable, with the various questions asked being the dependent variable.

(iii) The 'overall' or total figures form the bottom row of each table: these figures are calculated from the total number of respondents who answered each question - usually 328.

(iv) Chi-squared is used as a measure of the existence of a statistical relationship between the two variables (ie. the 'areas' always forming one of the two variables) in each table. The significance level of the chi-squared test is given in each case. If this significance level is .0001, then the probability that the two variables are related in the manner given by the results by chance is 1 in 10,000.[1]

(v) However, considering the large number of respondents in the sample, large χ^2s and high levels of significance are relatively easy to achieve. Therefore, a measure of the strength of this relationship is also offered with each table. This measure is the contingency coefficient - if it equals 0, then there is no relationship- if it equals 1 then there is a perfect relationship. The nearer the coefficient to unity, the stronger the relationship.

6.3 *Major Social Indicators*

Table 6.1

I TENURE

	OWNER-OCCUPIED	RENT FURNISHED	RENT UNFURNISHED	LOCAL AUTHORITY
Area 1 (n = 96)	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Area 2 (n = 77)	1.3	0.0	0.0	98.7
Area 3 (n = 83)	55.4	16.9	27.7	0.0
Area 4 (n = 72)	61.1	6.9	31.9	0.0
Overall (n = 328)	57.0	5.8	14.0	23.2

(Chi-squared significance = .0000)
(Contingency coefficient = .7415)

The tenure of the properties in the sample accords very well with the tenures recorded for these enumeration districts in the 1971 Census. Area 1 consisted entirely of owner-occupied dwellings (cf, 91.1% owner-occupier in 1971). Area 2, with the exception of one house (see figure 6.1 below) was made up of properties rented from the City of Manchester Council (cf. 99.0% local authority rented in 1971). Area 3 was substantially similar to the Census data from 1971, and it seems reasonable to assume that the tenures reflected in the sample were representative of the situation in this enumeration district in 1976. An increase in the percentage of owner-occupiers from 43.4 to 55.4 probably reflects the trend towards modernisation (and gentrification). The rise of 5.6% in the proportion of properties rented unfurnished, and a fall of 15.5% in furnished rented dwellings similarly reflect the typical tenure changes of an area experiencing widespread home improvement. Area 4 shows an even greater increase in the proportion of owner-occupiers, 46.5% in 1971 to 61.1% in 1976. This mirrors the decrease in the proportion of unfurnished rented

Figure 6.1

The only owner-occupied dwelling in Area 2 - a council house sold to the sitting tenant two years before the survey

accommodation (47.5% to 31.9%), with the furnished rented sector remaining fairly constant (consisting in the survey of households of students). The rise in proportion of owner-occupiers and fall in the number of properties rented unfurnished again reflects the modernisation of houses which was taking place in this part of Fallowfield. In fact, some of the houses fell within a GIA and their owners had made use of the special improvement grants available for these areas. The chi-squared significance and contingency coefficient statistics show the two variables ('area' and 'tenure') to be strongly related, (see Table 6.1).

II HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS

Table 6.2

1. Dwelling Type

	SEMI-DETACHED	TERRACE	FLAT	OLD PERSON'S BUNGALOW
Area 1 (n = 96)	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Area 2 (n = 77)	37.7	40.3	18.2	3.9
Area 3 (n = 83)	10.8	49.4	39.8	0.0
Area 4 (n = 72)	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Overall (n = 328)	40.9	43.9	14.3	0.9

(Chi-squared significance = .0000)
(Contingency coefficient = .6892)

Table 6.3

2. Shared Dwellings

	SHARED-DWELLINGS	SINGLE-HOUSEHOLD DWELLINGS
Area 1 (n = 96)	1.0	99.0
Area 2 (n = 77)	0.0	100.0
Area 3 (n = 83)	33.7	66.3
Area 4 (n = 72)	9.7	90.3
Overall (n = 328)	11.0	89.0

(Chi-squared significance = .0000)
(Contingency coefficient = .4020)

The Manchester S.I.S. data did not include details of dwelling type broken down by each enumeration district. However, it did include measures of the proportion of very large and very small dwelling units in every enumerated district. The percentage of large dwelling units (termed MANSIONS in the SIS reports), was minimal, apart from Area 3. Such large units were defined as having seven or more habitable rooms. The Manchester survey undertaken for this project, did not attempt to record information on the properties themselves in such detail.[2] However, 33.7% of the informants in Area 3 lived in shared dwellings, which were mainly large semi-detached Victorian and Edwardian houses divided into several separate units. This figure agrees quite well with the 34.4% shared dwellings recorded in the 1971 Census, and the 27.0% 'MANSIONS' identified in the S.I.S. manipulations of Census data.

The S.I.S. variable 'FLATS' is defined as dwelling units with three or less habitable rooms. The figures recorded for the four enumeration districts studied were: Area 1 0.0%

Area 2 2.0%

Area 3 43.0%

Area 4 5.6%

This study defined 'flats' as dwelling units on a single floor. This accounts for the discrepancy in Area 2 where the 2.0% figure recorded in 1971 presumably relates to the number of aged persons' bungalows in the enumeration district.[3] Similarly, all the 'flats' recorded in this survey (18.2%) were two-bedroom flats, and would thus have four habitable rooms[4] and would not have been identified as 'FLATS' by the S.I.S. study. 43.0% of dwelling units were defined as 'FLATS' in Area 3 in 1971, compared to 39.8% in this survey; and 5.6% in Area 4, although none were recorded in the sample interviewed for this survey.

For both the above tables relating to housing characteristics, the chi-squared significances show that a non-random relationship exists; and the contingency coefficients indicate that the relationships are strong (particularly for dwelling types). However, as with characteristics of tenure in the previous section, this is only to be expected since the four areas were specifically chosen for these differences. The overriding characteristics of the four areas can now confidently[5] be expressed as:

Area 1 - owner occupiers

Area 2 - council tenants

Area 3 - flat dwellers

Area 4 - traditional working class

These are the characteristics which it was hoped that the four enumeration districts would display (see chapter 5), and these terms will be used in subsequent tables in this chapter, alongside the Area numbers for ease of comprehension.

The physical differences between the sub-areas revealed much about the neighbourhoods of which these enumeration districts were a part. Many community/locality studies take these principal housing characteristics as a starting point because they are so apparent and easily distinguishable - viz. 'an area of owner-occupied semi-detached houses', 'a council estate', or 'an area of privately-rented flats'. It is difficult to imagine any detailed study of a small urban area, not presenting background information in these terms.

III DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Table 6.4

1. Marital Status

			MARRIED	SINGLE	WIDOWED	SEPARATED/ DIVORCED
A	1.	Owner occupiers	82.3	6.3	10.4	1.0
R	2.	Council tenants	75.3	3.9	19.5	1.3
E	3.	Flat dwellers	59.0	32.5	6.0	2.4
A	4.	Traditional working class	70.8	11.1	18.1	0.0
	Overall		72.3	13.4	13.1	1.2

(Chi-squared significance = .0000)
(Contingency coefficient = .3452)

This cross tabulation reflects the marital status of the respondents themselves. The only outstanding feature is that Area 3 contained a far higher proportion of single persons, and a lower proportion of married respondents than the other three areas. Comparable 1971 Census data are clouded by the fact that the S.I.S. study combined all single, widowed and divorced persons over 15 years into one variable. Even so, Area 3 still had a higher proportion of 'SINGLE' persons - 35.9%, as compared to 26.8% for Area 1, 33.9% for Area 2, and 31.0% for Area 4.

Almost one fifth of the samples from Areas 2 and 4 were widowed - usually aged persons living alone. This must have repercussions upon the social and material needs of these areas. This point is discussed in the following table which outlines the ages of the respondents.

2. Age[6]

Table 6.5

			<25 yrs	26-35 yrs	36-45 yrs	46-55 yrs	56-65 yrs	>65 yrs
A	1.	Owner-occupiers	3.1	30.2	22.9	19.8	9.4	14.6
R	2.	Council tenants	1.3	20.8	15.6	18.2	15.6	28.6
E	3.	Flat dwellers	20.5	33.7	18.1	15.7	2.4	9.7
A	4.	Traditional working class	16.7	31.9	15.3	8.3	11.1	16.7
Overall			10.1	29.3	18.3	15.9	9.5	17.1

(Chi-squared significance = .0000)
(Contingency coefficient = .3554)

As would be expected, the area of 'flat dwellers' had a significantly younger population than the other three areas. Young persons in general, and students in particular, are only able to afford the cheapest kind of accommodation offered in the private sector.[7] This is usually furnished or unfurnished flats or small terraced houses, or converted larger old houses. Area 3 contained many examples of these types of property, and thus it is not surprising that over 50% of 'heads of households' were under 35 years of age. This area also contained large numbers of pre-1914 terraced houses, the classic "ideal first home" of estate agents' jargon. Area 4 also contained many old terraced houses which had recently been acquired by young couples as first homes. However, more in line with its'traditional working class' or 'residual area' image, Area 4 also contained many elderly persons, usually living in rented, rather than owner-occupied, properties. Area 1 had the most 'middle-aged' population, with the highest proportions of the four areas for the 36-45 years and 46-55 years categories. The inter-war semi-detached houses of Area 1 were out of the reach of most young married couples seeking to buy their

first home. Area 2 had by far the oldest population of the four areas. Not only were more than one third of the informants over retirement age,[8] but only 22% of the sample were younger than 35 years - 11% less than the next 'oldest' area. The reasons for this 'old' population are no doubt two-fold. Firstly, many of the informants had been moved to this estate during slum clearance programmes in the 1930s and 1940s, and had stayed there, growing old with the properties themselves. Secondly, the majority of dwelling units are 2-bedroom flats and houses, and Housing Department allocations policy means that it is unlikely for such properties to be offered to young single people or childless couples. 1971 Census figures reveal that this enumeration district had an 'old' population even then, with 20.9% of the population[9] aged 65 or over, against a Manchester average of 13.2%. Of the four areas, only Area 3 ('flat-dwellers') contained a lower proportion of the over 65s than the city average.

3. Total Children

Table 6.6

		CHILDREN LIVING AT HOME						
		NO CHILDREN	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 OR MORE
A	1. Owner occupiers	39.6	16.7	29.2	10.4	2.1	2.1	0.0	0.0
R	2. Council tenants	48.1	14.3	18.2	14.3	5.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
E	3. Flat dwellers	61.4	7.2	18.1	9.6	0.0	1.2	1.2	1.2
A	4. Traditional working class	50.7	11.1	13.9	16.7	8.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Overall	49.5	12.5	20.4	12.5	3.7	0.9	0.3	0.3

Chi-squared significance = .0499
Contingency coefficient = .3010

This variable displays an insignificant relationship to the 'Areas'. Area 3 has the highest percentage of households with no children (reflecting the proportion of young, single households), but also the highest percentage of large families with 5, 6 or 7 children. The reason for this is simply that Area 3 was the only area with very large 4- or 5-bedroom properties capable of accommodating 5 or more children. The only comparable 1971 Census S.I.S. variable is 'BIGFAM', which was the percentage of households containing five or more persons. Interestingly, Area 2 was the only one of the four areas with a higher than the City average proportion of 'big families'. This may be due to allocations policy again, in that 3-bedroomed properties would only be offered to families with 3 children or 2 teenage children, and under-occupation is consequently much lower in public sector housing than in the private sector.

Area 2, also contains households with the 'oldest' children (almost 25% over school-leaving age, and less than 4% with children younger than 2 years); and that Areas 1 and 4 contain the highest proportions of children under 5 years of age, and therefore the highest percentage of families in the 'child-producing stage'.

IV OTHER SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

1. Kinship - Relatives living nearby

Table 6.7

AREA		NO RELATIVES WITHIN 10 MINUTES WALK	RELATIVES WITHIN 10 MINUTES WALK				
			NUMBER OF FAMILIES OF RELATIVES				
			1	2	3	4	5 OR MORE
A	1. Owner-occupiers	58.3	29.2	8.3	2.1	0.0	2.1
R	2. Council tenants	58.4	23.4	10.4	5.2	2.6	0.0
E	3. Flat dwellers	68.7	22.9	4.8	3.6	0.0	0.0
A	4. Traditional working class	55.6	20.8	15.3	5.6	2.8	0.0
	Overall	60.4	24.4	9.5	4.0	1.2	0.6

Chi-squared significance = .2289
Contingency coefficient = .2231

This question attempted to discover whether the respondents were living within a well-established local kinship network."10 minutes walk" was chosen as a surrogate for distance, as it is perhaps easier to estimate than, say "half a mile".[10]

An important qualification to this question was that for respondents who owned a car, "10 minutes walk" was a concept almost completely alien to them. For them, 'local' was perhaps within '10 minutes driving distance' and a few informants did indicate that they had relatives living 'nearby' whom they frequently visited by car. However, it would have made the interview schedule unnecessarily complicated and cumbersome to allow for such refinements to this simple question. Nevertheless, the point was noted that the notion of "living nearby" was very much influenced by the relative mobility of the informants.

The results of the question were not especially revealing in terms of the four Areas; statistical relationships were weak and insignificant. Area 3, the flat dwellers, exhibited a relatively higher level of 'family isolation' than the other Areas, with over 10% more of the households having no relatives living within easy walking distance. Even Area 4, the 'traditional working class' area, had over 55% of its households not living within 10 minutes walk of relatives; a figure much higher than the working class communities studied by Young and Willmott in Bethnal Green, and Rosser and Harris[11] in Swansea.

2. Affluence/Status

a) Socio-economic Group

Table 6.8

AREA		I & II	III	IV & V	STUDENT	RETIRED
A	1. Owner-occupiers	52.1	38.5	0.0	0.0	9.4
R	2. Council tenants	2.6	35.1	28.6	0.0	33.8
E	3. Flat dwellers	38.6	36.1	4.8	12.0	8.4
A	4. Traditional working class	9.7	30.6	26.4	9.7	23.6
	Overall	27.7	35.4	13.7	5.2	18.0

Chi-squared significance = .0000
Contingency coefficient = .5313

The relationship between Area and S.E.G. is significant, and relatively strong. However, this was expected, as to a large degree, the socio-economic groups mirror the tenure patterns of the four Areas; and also, the S.E.G. classification cannot claim to be highly accurate.[12] Nevertheless, the S.E.G.'s recorded for each Area accord quite well with those determined by the 1971 Census. In particular, in both this survey

and the Census, each Area contains between 30% and 40% of households in S.E.G. III. Thus, all the areas meet the project criterion of not being either 'very rich' or 'very poor' areas.

Over half the household heads in Area 1 fell into the professional and managerial groups (I & II), and almost 40% of households in Area 3 were within the same groupings. This lends support to the idea that Area 3 is becoming 'gentrified' with young professional couples moving into the old terraced houses or the new flats that are offered for sale or rent in this part of Withington. Interestingly, Area 4, the traditional working-class area, seems to be subject to the same forces. Although less than 10% of the households were within S.E.G's I & II, this is higher than might be expected for a stable working class community. Also, four of the seven households in this group were young professional couples or single people who had bought houses here in order to qualify for the special improvement subsidies offered within the G.I.A.

The distinction between 'semi-skilled manual' and 'unskilled manual' was usually impossible to make from the sparse information offered on occupation. However, these groupings accounted for over 25% of the households in Areas 2 and 4.

Over one third of the sample from Area 2, the Council tenants, were over retirement age. As many of these households were widows whose husbands had long since died, it seemed more relevant to record the fact that they were living off various pensions rather than try to establish the last occupation of their husbands (which in any case, many could not accurately recall). Almost a quarter of the household

heads in Area 4 were retired.[13] This agrees with the notion of Area 4 representing a residual working-class area, from which the younger and more mobile have departed, and in which the older residents are 'trapped'.[14]

b) Possession of a motor car

Table 6.9

		CAR	NO CAR
A	1. Owner-occupiers	58.9	41.1
R	2. Council tenants	36.4	63.6
E	3. Flat dwellers	63.9	36.1
A	4. Traditional working class	52.1	47.9

Chi-squared significance = .0031
Contingency coefficient = .2091

The relationship between Area and 'possession of a motor car' is not highly significant. It does however reinforce the patterns of wealth indicated by housing tenure and S.E.G., in that Areas 1 and 3 contain the highest proportion of households with cars. The relative figures for car ownership in each Area are similar to those produced by the S.I.S. study from 1971 Census data; although it is interesting to note that all four Areas had a higher proportion of households with cars than the 31.6% recorded as the Manchester average in 1971.

Affluence, kinship patterns and age profile, constitute the principal social characteristics of any small urban area. Such variables are often discussed at the beginning of community studies, and an inference is sometimes made that certain neighbourhoods exhibit homogeneous or uniform social patterns. Socio-economic group is usually used to

determine whether an area is middle-class or working-class, but often little attention is paid to the actual breakdown of S.E.G.s, or what it might mean to a working-class area (for example, Area 4 in this study), in terms of services, facilities and demands, to contain a sizeable minority of relatively wealthy 'professional and managerial' residents.

3. Residential Mobility

a) Length of residence at present address — Table 6.10

AREA		LESS THAN 3 YEARS	3-5 YEARS	6-10 YEARS	11-20 YEARS	MORE THAN 20 YEARS	'BORN HERE'
A	1. Owner-occupiers	15.6	10.4	15.6	26.0	29.2	3.1
R	2. Council tenants	10.4	15.6	11.7	10.4	50.6	1.3
E	3. Flat dwellers	48.2	12.0	6.0	16.9	16.9	0.0
A	4. Traditional working class	18.1	13.9	9.7	26.4	27.8	4.2
	Overall	23.2	12.8	11.0	20.1	30.8	2.1

Chi-squared significance = .0000
Contingency coefficient = .3995

The relationship between 'length of residence at present address' and Area is significant, although overall, not very strong. Length of residence was in fact recorded in exact years (or months if less than one year). This table represents groupings into six coded bands, similar to those used by the Community Attitudes Survey.[15] The overall results are remarkably similar to those found by the Community Attitudes Survey:-

Table 6.11

Length of residence at present address (by percentage)

	<3 YEARS	3-5 YEARS	6-10 YEARS	11-20 YEARS	>20 YEARS	'BORN HERE'
Manchester survey *	23.2	12.8	11.0	20.1	30.8	2.1
C.A.S **	22	12	20	23	20	2

* N = 328

** N = 2199

The Manchester sample would thus appear to be representative of a much broader based sample taken from all parts of England.

The most striking features are that over half of the council tenants had lived at their present address for over 20 years, and almost half the residents in Area 3 had lived at their present address for less than three years. In fact the majority of the council tenants had been displaced by slum clearance before the Second World War, and had moved into the area when both they and the estate were quite young. With relatively restricted opportunities for transferring to another council property, and the good amenities provided within their new homes, most have 'stayed put'. The mobility patterns exhibited by Area 3 are typical of areas containing a high proportion of flat dwellers. The availability of furnished flats for rent, suitable 'first homes' for purchase, and easy access to university campuses, have meant that population turnover in this area is very high indeed. In 1971, 19.3% of people living in this enumeration district had lived there for less than one year - the only one of the four Areas above the Manchester average of 11.2%.

The S.I.S. study recorded that Area 4 exhibited the lowest population turnover of the four Areas over a five year period. Only 14.9% of inhabitants in Area 4 had moved into the enumeration district within five years before Census night in 1971. This can be compared to the 32.0% of the respondents from Area 4 who lived there for less than six years in 1976. Clearly, in 1971, Area 4 reflected a typically low population turnover pattern of a traditional working class community. By 1976 this picture had apparently begun to change.

b) Distance of Previous Area of Residence (in Kilometres) Table 6.12

AREA		<5 kms	5-8 kms	8-15 kms	16-50 kms	51-150 kms	>150 kms	OVERSEAS
A	1. Owner-occupiers	72.9	7.3	4.2	2.1	4.2	9.4	0.0
R	2. Council tenants	88.3	9.1	1.3	1.3	1.3	0.0	0.0
E	3. Flat dwellers	56.6	8.4	4.8	4.8	9.6	10.8	6.0
A	4. Traditional working class	81.7	7.0	1.4	1.4	0.0	5.6	1.4
	Overall	74.3	8.0	3.1	2.1	4.0	6.7	1.8

Chi-squared significance = .0003
Contingency coefficient = .3648

c) Length of Residence in Previous Area Table 6.13

AREA		<3 YRS	3-5 YRS	6-10 YRS	11-20 YRS	>20 YRS	BORN THERE
A	1. Owner-occupiers	12.5	14.6	6.3	14.6	8.2	43.8
R	2. Council tenants	2.6	5.2	6.5	5.2	9.1	71.4
E	3. Flat dwellers	26.5	16.9	10.8	3.6	2.4	39.8
A	4. Traditional working class	16.7	5.6	4.2	13.9	1.4	58.3
	Overall	14.6	11.0	7.0	9.5	5.5	52.4

Chi-squared significance = .0000
Contingency coefficient = .3701

These two tables reveal a considerable amount of detail of the social make-up of the four Areas. Residents in Areas 2 and 4 had generally moved very short distances into their present addresses, 97.4% of households in Area 2, and 88.7% of Area 4 households had moved from previous addresses less than 7 kilometres (4.3 miles) away. For the council tenants this is hardly surprising as they would have normally had to live within the City of Mancester boundary for five years or more before being accepted onto the waiting list. Similarly, short moves would be the norm within 'traditional working class' areas, since people would wish to live close to their relatives, workplace and the area in which they were brought up. Residents in Areas 1 and 3 were more likely to have moved into their present areas from further away - and thus have more difficulties in keeping in contact with their previous areas. 9.4% of respondents in Area 1 had moved into the area from more than 150 kilometres (93 miles) away, and 16.8% of those in Area 3 from a similar distance (including 6.0% from overseas).

Inhabitants of Area 3 were also more likely to have lived in their previous area of residence for a shorter period before moving (43.4% moved within six years, compared to 25.6% for the total sample). These figures indicate that Area 3 was a 'transient' area with many people in the younger age groups moving frequently, often from one part of the country to another, in pursuit of work, or academic qualifications.

Area 2 is at the other end of the spectrum in terms of residential mobility. Not only did most respondents only move a few miles to their present address, but they were also more likely to have lived in their previous area since birth (71.4%, compared to the overall average of 52.4%). As mentioned in the previous section, Area 2 is characterised

by old people who have made a single move many years before into Council property from areas which have since been redeveloped. Area 4 also exhibits a pattern of residential stability, but less so than Area 2. 16.7% of the Area 4 sample had lived in their previous area for less than three years, possibly reflecting the recent influx of students, and of young professional and Asian families buying their first homes.

Little comparative information exists, although the C.A.S. research did reveal that 17% of respondents in County Boroughs had moved to their present address from more than 10 miles away,[16] In this study, 14.6% of the sample moved more than 16 kilometres (9.9 miles) into their present accommodation.

Overall the sample of respondents appears to have been remarkably stable in terms of residential mobility. Almost three quarters had moved less than 5 kilometres (3.1 miles) to get to their new address, and over half had been born in previous area in which they lived.

Combining the numbers brought up overseas with those whose previous address was in fact overseas, it is possible to construct a table of all foreign-born household heads.[17] Comparative figures from the S.I.S. study are also given.[18]

d) Percentage of Foreign-born household heads Table 6.14

	Manchester Interview Survey		1971 Census (from S.I.S.)
Area 1	9.6		6.8
Area 2	3.9		7.0
Area 3	15.7		12.9
Area 4	8.3		16.2
Overall =	9.4	M/cr Average =	9.8

Foreign-born persons in Areas 1 and 2 tended to come from Eastern Europe or Mediterranean countries. Those in Area 3 were mainly foreign students, and those in Area 4 were mainly Asian. Only 3 (4.2%) of the households in Area 4 had origins in Ireland, as compared to the 7.7% recorded in the 1971 Census.

In general terms the areas selected would seem to meet the project criterion of not including concentrations of immigrants, although none of the areas was so exclusive as to include no foreign-born households at all. In terms of residential mobility, none of the areas could be called a 'reception area' for immigrants, and most of the foreign-born in the sample had lived at other addresses in England before moving to Withington.

e) Reasons for moving to present address [19] Table 6.15

	REASONS*								
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1. Owner-occupiers	39.6	18.9	6.3	2.1	8.3	13.5	9.4	1.0	0.0
2. Council tenants	39.0	0.0	2.6	0.0	6.5	1.3	5.2	1.3	44.2
3. Flat dwellers	24.4	11.0	1.2	0.0	2.4	23.2	25.6	9.8	2.4
4. Traditional working class	41.7	23.6	5.6	1.4	4.2	2.8	13.9	2.8	4.2
Overall	36.1	13.8	4.0	0.9	5.5	10.7	13.5	3.7	11.9

Chi-squared significance = .0000
Contingency co-efficient = .5848

* A = Marriage
B = To buy own house
C = Parents' home (including people "born here")
D = Deterioration of previous neighbourhood
E = Bigger or smaller house
F = Liked house or area
G = Job
H = Family or friends in area
I = Slum clearance

'Reason for moving'has a relatively strong and significant relationship with the Areas. Over one third of the sample moved to their present address after marriage, indicating that all four areas were relatively suitable sites for 'first marital homes'. As one might have expected from the dwelling stock and housing market, Area 3 had relatively fewer households set up immediately after marriage. Area 3 also included a much higher proportion of people who moved to their present address because of their occupation. This figure does in fact include people who moved to Manchester in order to study at (or work at) Manchester University or UMIST. This also probably explains why the 'traditional working class' area includes many people who gave their 'occupation' as the principal reason for moving to their current address. Almost 10% of respondents in Area 3 gave 'friends or family in the area' as their

main reason for moving. This almost three times the overall percentage of people who gave this factor as their reason for moving. Thus the evidence suggests that Area 3 is a fairly typical 'flat-dwellers' area - the inhabitants are fairly young, move very frequently within the private-rented accommodation sector, are isolated from their families, and share the properties they live in. Area 3 can also be reached easily by public transport from the universities in Manchester, and the availability of flats for rent has made it a popular area for students, and for young mobile people in general. As well as attracting people new to the city, the area also exerts a pull upon transient young people through friendship with people already living in the area - and so the cycle goes on.

Availability of houses for sale also attracted 11.0% of respondents to Area 3; but this factor accounted for 19.8% of moves to Area 1, and 23.6% of moves to Area 4. The fact that more people moved into Area 4 than to Area 1 simply "to buy their own house", indicates that the properties in Area 1 were more 'up-market', and not as suitable for first time buyers as those in Area 4 (particularly with the improvement grants being offered in part of Area 4). A smaller number of people (4% overall) moved to their present address with their parents, or were actually born whilst their parents were living at that address.

The factor 'liked house or area' is interesting as it accounted for 23.2% of moves to Area 3, 13.5% of moves to Area 1, yet only 2.8% of households moving into Area 4, and 1.3% (ie.one household) of moves to the Council estate, Area 2. It would be expected that a fairly large proportion of people moving into an exclusively owner-occupied area may

offer a special liking for either the house or the area as the main reason for the move. However, the fact that this was the main reason for moving into Area 3 for almost a quarter of the sample would again seem to indicate that there may be a 'multiplier effect' of an area building a reputation as being 'good' for young people, and this alone attracting others to the area. The 'traditional working class' area attracts few people because of the houses or the area alone, and the Council estate virtually no one. Perhaps this is due to the operation of Council-house allocations systems whereby people may be offered properties anywhere over quite large areas. Apart from meeting the criterion of being in Withington for example, tenants may not be particularly interested in the immediate surrounding area at all when they move in; they may simply be happy enough to have got the type of property that they requested, or to have got any property at all.

Finally, perhaps the single most outstanding figure from the above table is that 44.2% of the respondents living in Area 2 were rehoused there because of slum clearance. Obviously, to be rehoused in this manner is a move which is forced upon you, and which you are powerless to do anything about. Perhaps this fact could taint a person's opinions of his or her new area no matter how long they live there.

Length of residence at present address, reason for moving there and details of residential histories are crucial factors in determining the'atmosphere' of an area. The development of social isolation on new housing estates has been well documented.[20] The combination of new houses and new neighbours, leads some people into a concern for privacy,

and for easily-visible signs of status and wealth. Several studies[21] have suggested factors involved in how quickly a new residential area 'settles down' or becomes a community. New areas of housing clearly have certain special social problems to overcome. None of the sub-areas in this study could be classed as a 'new residential area'.

Following the above outline of all the principal social characteristics of the sample, the next two sections present the major attitudinal (section 6.4) and use of facilities (section 6.5) elements of the study. These variables are based upon reported behaviour and opinion and there is no corresponding Census data to which comparisons can be made. However, where other surveys have used identical or very similarly-worded questions, some comparable information is available.

6.4 *Attitudes to Area and Facilities*

I Perception of 'Home Area'

'Home Area' Existence[22]

Table 6.16

		YES	NO	
A	1 Owner-occupiers	84.4	15.6	(n = 327)
R	2 Council tenants	66.2	33.8	
E	3 Flat dwellers	63.4	36.6	
A	4 Traditional working class	70.8	29.2	
	Overall	71.9	28.1	

Chi-squared significance = .0090
Contingency coefficient = .1849

Only one of the 328 respondents found it impossible to answer this question, although as the Community Attitudes Survey[23] noted different respondents understood different things when they indicated that they felt "at home". In particular some respondents may regard the whole city, or a large part of it, as their 'home area', whilst others only feel "at home" within their own street. Overall, almost 72% of the sample did feel "at home", as compared to the 78% of the C.A.S. sample who were able to conceptualise a 'home area'.[24]

The differences between the four sub-sample areas in perception of 'home area', are not statistically very important. However, it is clear from the table that more respondents living in Area 1, the owner-occupiers area, felt "at home". As one might intuitively expect, the area with the most transient population, the flat-dwellers area, recorded the lowest proportion of respondents who could conceptualise a 'home area'. The area of council tenants included only a slightly higher percentage of residents who felt "at home"; and the traditional working class area only slightly more still.

The C.A.S. sample of 2199 respondents was drawn from all across England and so could not be broken down into any meaningful small areas. The C.A.S. report did not publish any breakdown of the question of feeling "at home" by tenure type, so no comparisons can be made with the results of the present study. Nevertheless, the fact that the area exclusively composed of owner-occupiers included a substantially higher proportion (almost 14%) than any other area of respondents who felt 'at home', would seem to indicate that tenure type, or at least, home ownership, is a significant variable in the development of local loyalties and attachments.[25] This is perhaps partially explained by the fact that owner-occupiers have a greater investment (in terms of both money and time) in their own property, and also therefore in their home area.

II Friendliness of Local Area[26]

Table 6.17

AREA		FRIENDLY	MODERATE	UNFRIENDLY
A	1. Owner-occupiers	72.9	27.1	0.0
R	2. Council tenants	53.2	42.9	3.9
E	3. Flat dwellers	50.6	43.4	6.0
A	4. Traditional working class	69.4	26.4	4.2
	Overall	61.9	34.8	3.4

Chi-squared significance = .0105
Contingency coefficient = .2200

Over half the respondents were able to reply that they found their local area "a friendly sort of place"; just over a third judged their immediate area to be moderate in terms of friendliness; whilst very few (3.4%) actually called their area "unfriendly". Clearly perceived friendliness is a more accurate description of an informant's attitudes towards

neighbours and privacy, than to any objective assessment of local friendliness.[27] To term one's local area "unfriendly" is apparently a rare occurrence, and presumably represents an extreme attitude towards one's neighbours.

Statistical differences between the areas are once again relatively insignificant, although Areas 1 and 4 are conspicuously judged to be more friendly than Areas 2 and 3. Area 1 was found to be "friendly" by a higher proportion of residents than any other area. It is also notable that not one of the owner-occupiers living in this area found it "unfriendly". Perhaps for a home-owner to deem his local area unfriendly is an admission of failure, in that he or she voluntarily chose to buy their house in that area, and to later admit that the area is unfriendly may be tantamount to admitting that they made a wrong decision. Alternatively, it may be that home-owners who do find their local areas "unfriendly" may have more opportunity to move house until they do find an area which suits them.

III *Sorry or Pleased to leave*[28]

Table 6.18

		VERY SORRY	QUITE SORRY	NEITHER SORRY NOR PLEASED	QUITE PLEASED	VERY PLEASED
A	1. Owner-occupiers	31.6	44.2	20.0	2.1	2.1
R	2. Council tenants	33.8	41.6	14.3	5.2	5.2
E	3. Flat dwellers	24.1	41.0	20.5	7.2	7.2
A	4. Traditional working class	27.8	26.4	25.0	8.3	12.5
	Overall	29.4	38.8	19.9	5.5	6.4

Chi-squared significance = .1104
Contingency coefficient = .2295

This question is taken directly from the Community Attitudes Survey, which judged it "to possess excellent powers of discrimination between informants according to the factor of (community) involvement".[29] The overall results of the C.A.S. for this question were similar to those of this survey, except that more of the C.A.S. sample were "very sorry" to leave, and less were "quite sorry" to leave:-

Table 6.19

	VERY SORRY	QUITE SORRY	NEITHER SORRY NOR PLEASED	QUITE PLEASED	VERY PLEASED
Manchester Survey - Overall	29%	39%	20%	6%	6%
Community Attitudes Survey	41%	24%	20%	7%	8%

The differences between the areas produced by this question were not marked. Areas 1 and 2 included the highest proportion of people who would be sorry (very sorry or quite sorry) to leave - close to 75% for both areas. Area 4 contained the largest percentage of respondents who would be pleased (very pleased or quite pleased) to leave - 21%, as against 14%, 10% and 4% for the other three areas. Perhaps this latter point could be accounted for by the disruption caused by the recent physical and social changes in this area - for example, the declaration of part of the area as a G.I.A. and the building and improvement work undertaken in connection with that, and the influx of Asians and university students.

the low level of satisfaction may be explained by the fact that many of the informants were elderly and may have needed 20 minutes or more to walk to the shops in Withington village. Indeed this factor was mentioned to the author many times when respondents were answering this particular question. The principal reason that more residents in Area 4 were dissatisfied with local shops than those in the other three areas is probably that Fallowfield village is simply inferior as a shopping centre when compared to Withington Village.

The other facility which produced major differences between the areas in satisfaction, was local employment opportunities. Only 19% of the respondents in Areas 1 and 2 were satisfied with local employment, but 42% were satisfied in Area 3, and 62% in Area 4. None of the areas is close to a large employer, or a large centre of employment - indeed the areas were chosen partly because they were within large residential zones. However, many of the respondents in Area 3 were students, and were unconcerned with local employment facilities. Other respondents in Area 3, the flat dwellers area might be classed as 'cosmopolitans' who were well prepared, indeed expected, to travel to work and looked upon the place in which they lived as little more than a dormitory. The relatively high level of satisfaction with employment facilities in Area 4 is probably connected with the fact that large industrial areas in Levenshulme were reachable in less than 15 minutes by car or bus.

2. Total 'Dissatisfactions' Recorded

To obtain a single, overall measure of satisfaction with local facilities and services, it was decided to total the number of dissatisfactions recorded, that is, the number of facilities which each respondent judged

to be inadequate. Experience from the pilot study in Bentilee led to the conclusion that it would be preferable to record the 'dissatisfactions' rather than the 'satisfactions', since being dissatisfied with a facility or a service seemed to imply that more thought had been given to the facility offered and comparisons made with other areas. In other words, 'dissatisfactions' were regarded as stronger attitudes than 'satisfactions' or 'don't knows'.

Table 6.21

		TOTAL DISSATISFACTIONS[31] (%'s)							Average number of dissatisfactions
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
A	1. Owner-occupiers	14.6	30.2	28.1	12.5	14.6	0.0	0.0	1.8
R	2. Council tenants	20.8	22.1	20.8	16.9	9.1	7.8	2.6	2.0
E	3. Flat dwellers	22.9	30.1	14.5	10.8	16.9	4.8	0.0	1.8
A	4. Traditional working class	20.8	23.6	20.8	20.8	11.1	2.8	0.0	1.9
	Overall	19.5	26.8	21.3	14.9	13.1	3.7	0.6	

Chi-squared significance = .0809
Contingency coefficient = .2753

Unlike the other attitudinal indices where, for example, judging an area 'unfriendly' was tantamount to disliking the area, being dissatisfied with a number of local facilities may in fact be an expression of liking an area and being concerned with what happens there.

Clearly, finding six, five or even four of the facilities and services mentioned to be inadequate, probably indicates that individuals are, overall, quite dissatisfied with their local area. However, finding no facilities to be inadequate may reflect a genuine satisfaction, or it may simply reflect a lack of awareness or interest in one's local area. This would explain why Area 1, the

owner-occupiers area, recorded fewest respondents with no 'dissatisfactions', whereas Area 3, the flat dwellers area recorded the most (despite having the highest proportion of informants without a 'home area', and finding their neighbourhood an 'unfriendly' place).

V Comparisons with Previous Area of Residence

1. Overall Comparison of Present Local Area

Table 6.22

AREA		"Compared to previous area this area is.... BETTER	SAME	WORSE	PARTLY BETTER & PARTLY WORSE
A	1. Owner-occupiers	57.0	34.9	4.7	3.5
R	2. Council tenants	31.8	28.8	33.3	6.1
E	3. Flat dwellers	36.6	39.4	19.7	4.2
A	4. Traditional working class	19.6	47.1	25.5	7.9
	Overall	38.7	36.9	19.3	5.1

Chi-squared significance = .0001
Contingency coefficient = .3502

This question revealed interesting - and statistically significant - differences between the areas. Respondents in Area 1 were far more likely to assess their present area as better than their previous areas of residence, and far less likely to consider it worse. Again this may be influenced by the factor of home-ownership, and the ability to choose where you want to live. Exactly one third of the informants in Area 2 thought their present area of residence to be worse than the place that they lived before. Area 2 is the area of council tenants, and many of them had been moved there via slum clearance schemes 30 or more years before. For them, the circumstances of their move have never really

been forgotten, and their new area has never matched up to the old. Area 3 closely reflects the average or overall figures for the whole sample; indicating perhaps that this is not an area which polarises attitudes, or more likely, that the dimension of comparisons with previous area of residence is not particularly important to the tenure group or age group that this area represents. Area 4 has the lowest proportion of respondents who think that their present area is better, and a relatively high proportion (over a quarter) who consider it to be worse. In particular many informants in this area replied that it had been 'better' when they moved some years ago, but has since rapidly deteriorated and is now 'worse'. This reaction is probably typical for traditional working class areas in large British cities which began to experience rapid changes in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

6.5 *Use of Local Facilities and Services*

I Shopping 'Centre' Most Frequently Used[32]

Table 6.23

	CITY CENTRE	WITH-INGTON	LADY-BARN	PRINCESS ROAD	'CORNER SHOPS'	BURTON ROAD	LEVENS-HULME	WITH-INGTON	SOME-WHERE ELSE
Area 1	2.1	43.8	42.7	0.0	1.1	0.0	1.0	not applic-able	9.4
Area 2	5.2	67.5	0.0	15.6	0.0	1.3	0.0		10.4
Area 3	3.6	62.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.5	0.0		19.3
Area 4	9.7	26.4*	1.4	11.1	6.9	0.0	20.8	4.2	19.4
Overall	4.9	50.3	12.8	6.1	1.8	4.0	4.9		14.3

Chi-squared significance = .0000
Contingency coefficient = .6579

* Fallowfield for Area 4
(as the nearest large shopping centre)

The relationship between the areas and shopping centre used is both statistically very significant and relatively strong.[33]

The above table reveals much about the shopping patterns of the sample, and highlights several major differences between the four sub-areas. Residents in Area 1 use the shopping centres in Withington and Ladybarn in almost equal numbers, with relatively few choosing to shop elsewhere. As the shops at Ladybarn are, for much of the Area, a lot closer than Withington village, respondents in this sub-area have an alternative to Withington which is not available to residents in Areas 2 and 3. However, almost 44% of respondents in Area 1 did use Withington for their day-to-day shopping needs. Residents in Area 2, the council tenants, had fewer real alternatives to shopping in Withington village, and in any case had exhibited a much lower pattern of car ownership than the other three areas. Thus, a higher proportion of respondents from Area 2 used Withington as their most usual shopping centre than the other three sub-area samples. Area 3 displayed a shopping pattern similar to Area 2. Almost 20% of the Area 3 sample used 'somewhere else' to do their day-to-day shopping. For many informants this 'somewhere else' referred to shops around the University which they used on their way home from studies. The shopping pattern of respondents from Area 4 was far more diversified. Their nearest major shopping centre, Fallowfield village, attracted only just over a quarter of the sample, much less than the 44-68% attracted to Withington in the other three areas. Clearly, Fallowfield village was far less attractive than Withington as a shopping centre, for reasons already outlined. Thus, some 21% of the Area 4 informants shopped along Stockport Road in Levenshulme - easily accessible by bus. A further 11% used the bus route in the other direction, to reach the shopping parade at Princess Road (frequented also by residents from Area 2). Almost 20% used 'somewhere else', and again the University area

shops contributed to this figure; and almost 10% cited the City Centre as the place most frequently used for day-to-day shopping.[34] Also, almost 7% used the three or four local 'corner shops', a factor of either no or only trivial importance in the other three areas.

II Address of Doctor

Table 6.24

		* WITHINGTON	& OTHER LOCATIONS ACCOUNTING FOR OVER 3% OF SAMPLE
A	1. Owner occupiers	64.6	Fallowfield/Burnage/Didsbury/Levenshulme/Longsight 14.6 5.2 5.2 3.1 3.1
R	2. Council tenants	65.8	Fallowfield/Hulme 17.1 5.3
E	3. Flat dwellers	40.7	Fallowfield/Didsbury/Northern-/University/Over den 22.2 11.1 3.7 3.7 150km 3.7
A	4. Traditional working class	74.6*	Levenshulme 8.5
	Overall	61.1	(N=324) [35]

*Fallowfield for Area 4

Nearly all respondents were registered with a doctor, and most of these with a 'local' doctor whose practice was usually within walking distance. The main points of interest from this variable are that:- Area 3, the flat dwellers, were once again the most independent of local facilities as only 41% were registered with practices in Withington; Fallowfield accounted for almost 20% of the informants from Area 1, 2 and 3, as this district contained several large practices; and 5.3% of the Area 2 residents were still registered with doctors in Hulme although they could not have lived in that area for over 30 years.

The 'Over 150 kms' coding for Area 3 refers to students who are still registered with doctors "back home" and had not re-registered in Manchester.

Most people chose to register with a doctor whose surgery was nearest to their home, or in an easily-reachable location. Those who did not, were usually registered with a practice some distance away.

III Use of Other Facilites

Table 6.25

AREA		CHURCHES			PUBLIC HOUSES			
		NEVER USED	LOCAL	ELSE-WHERE		NEVER USED	LOCAL	ELSE-WHERE
A	1. Owner occupiers	38.5	56.3	5.2	1.	43.8	36.5	19.8
R	2. Council tenants	59.7	37.7	2.0	2.	37.7	35.1	27.3
E	3. Flat dwellers	79.5	19.3	1.2	3.	15.7	54.2	30.1
A	4. Traditional working class	70.8	29.2	0.0	4.	30.6	58.3	11.1
	Overall	61.0	36.6	2.4		32.3	45.4	22.3

Chi-squared significance = .0000

Contingency coefficient = .3189

Chi-squared significance = .0002

Contingency coefficient = .2748

AREA		SPORTS FACILITIES			CLUBS			
		NEVER USED	LOCAL	ELSE-WHERE		NEVER USED	LOCAL	ELSE-WHERE
A	1. Owner occupiers	65.6	14.6	19.8	1.	59.4	18.8	21.9
R	2. Council tenants	90.9	5.2	3.9	2.	77.9	7.8	14.3
E	3. Flat dwellers	62.7	15.7	21.7	3.	65.1	4.8	30.1
A	4. Traditional working class	80.6	12.5	6.9	4.	77.8	12.5	9.7
	Overall	74.1	12.2	13.7		69.2	11.3	19.5

Chi-squared significance = .0004

Contingency coefficient = .2629

Chi-squared significance = .0014

Contingency coefficient = .2485

The above tables reveal the patterns of recreation of the respondents. Areas 1 and 2 exhibit the highest proportions attending churches regularly. Almost all the people who did attend regularly used the nearest suitable church.

Use of public houses reveals a pattern opposite to church attendance, in that Areas 3 and 4 included the highest proportions of the sub-samples who regularly visited pubs. Indeed, only 1 in 7 of the Area 3 sample claimed to never or very rarely use a public house. Almost a third of those who did visit pubs, usually went to ones outside their own local area.

Only a quarter of the households interviewed contained members (including children) who regularly participated in sporting activities. Due to the paucity of local facilities for most sports, over half of those who did participate did so outside their local area (although for many respondents this meant using University facilities).

Only 30% of the sample regularly attended clubs or associations, and the most 'middle class' area, Area 1 exhibited the highest activity rate. Again, most people used facilities not available in their own particular locality.

Excluding churches, which were almost exclusively local when attended, Area 3 contained a higher proportion of respondents than any other area who regularly used non-local facilities, with almost one third usually visiting public houses or attending clubs or associations outside their own neighbourhood. This confirms the previously observed pattern

of Area 3 residents being the most independent of their local area across a whole range of pursuits and needs. For sports and clubs, the residents of Area 1 exhibit strong patterns of non-local use, presumably reflecting their financial ability to pay for the travel costs incurred.

Types of Association Attended

The 100 respondents who replied that they did regularly attend some form of club or association were asked what that club was involved with.

Table 6.26

	COMMUNITY/ RESIDENTS	YOUTH GROUP	SOCIAL	SPORTS	CHURCH CLUB	EDUCATIONAL
1. Owner occupiers	10.8	10.8	45.9	18.9	8.1	5.4
2. Council tenants	0.0	0.0	76.5	11.8	11.8	0.0
3. Flat dwellers	0.0	0.0	79.3	20.7	0.0	0.0
4. Traditional working class	0.0	5.9	58.8	17.6	17.6	0.0
Overall	4.0	5.0	63.0	18.0	8.0	2.0

(n = 100)

Chi-squared significance = .0515
Contingency coefficient = .4726

Once again, these results are not statistically meaningful as the numbers involved are small. However, the above table confirms some expected patterns of use of leisure time. Over three-quarters of respondents from Areas 2 and 3 attending clubs or associations, visit social clubs (that is, private drinking establishments). Whereas, the middle-class owner-occupiers area, Area 1, is the only area with respondents who attended community groups or residents associations (possibly stimulated by the 'Save Ladybarn Village' campaign), or educational courses; and almost the only one whose children attended a youth group.

6.6 *Conclusions*

I Criteria for Selection of Areas

The objectives of this study necessitated that the sub-areas from which samples of residents would be drawn, should reflect fairly typical urban settings. The areas chosen should not exhibit extreme physical or social profiles. In particular, it was decided that the areas should not be very new, with inherent problems associated with settling down or 'transportation trauma', or very old and subject to severe disruptions caused through redevelopment. Also that the resident population should not be very rich (and therefore highly independent) or very poor, and should not include large concentrations of New Commonwealth immigrants. If possible the areas should be in the same general district within a single large city, and yet display fairly obvious differences. Although residentially heterogeneous, the general area should be relatively free from major industrial or commercial complexes.

Overall, the four areas selected appear to meet these pre-determined criteria quite admirably. All are relatively close to Withington village and yet display quite clear social differences. None seem to exclusively include either very rich or very poor people - all the areas exhibit a mix of socio-economic groups.

Comparison with 1971 Census data reveals that the sampled survey populations were quite similar to the total populations enumerated in 1971. Thus, one can be fairly confident that the respondents in each area were comparatively representative of all the residents living in these four areas at the time of the survey.

However, it must be admitted that for several reasons, Area 4 did not display the social and economic factors associated with a 'traditional working class' area, as much as the other three areas reflected various 'typical' urban neighbourhoods. The major reason for this was that the area and the population had changed in several dramatic ways since the 1971 Census. Approximately one third of the area had been declared a GIA, and environmental and housing stock improvements were well under way. This change was associated with a transfer in tenure type for many properties from privately rented unfurnished, to owner-occupied. Many of the families buying properties and moving into the area were of Asian origin. Other private landlords decided to rent their properties in a furnished state (and so retain certain rights) rather than rent them unfurnished or sell them. Many of the people who took on such 'furnished' tenancies were students, since the area was adjacent to a major University Hall of Residence at Owens Park and close to a whole range of student facilities. Also, in terms of this survey, Area 4 was less than ideal in that it was adjacent to Fallowfield village, whereas the other three areas were near to Withington village, which was quite obviously a superior shopping centre. However, the enumeration districts identified as typical 'traditional working class' areas from 1971 Census data, close to Withington village, had all been considerably reduced in size by demolition, and this area was the nearest available substitute.

As well as being 'non-extreme', the other criterion which the areas had to meet was that they should display considerable differences between one another. In terms of tenure type these differences were indeed

quite apparent. Area 1 consisted exclusively of owner-occupers, whilst Area 2 was (with a single exception) totally council rented. Area 3 included a large number of flats, privately rented, both furnished and unfurnished, together with many Victorian and Edwardian owner-occupied semi-detached and terraced houses. Area 4 was entirely terraced housing, but displayed a wide variety of tenure types with owner-occupation and privately-rented unfurnished being predominant.

II Summary of the Major Area Differences from the Survey Results

Area 1

This is an area of owner-occupied semi-detached houses, and consequently more 'up-market' than the houses available for sale in Areas 3 and 4. Area 1 is the most affluent area, with the highest proportion of socio-economic groups I and II, and a high car ownership rate. The population was overall older than Area 3, and it is quite clearly an area of 'family housing' (it had the highest percentage - 60% - of households with children). It scored the highest overall in the various measures of attitudinal attachment, and many people had lived in the area a long time (over 60% for more than 10 years). More people than in Areas 2 and 4 had moved from over eight kilometres (five miles) away, and partly because of this and partly in that they were more financially independent, Area 1 residents had fewer connections with their previous area and few relatives living locally. The general impression of Area 1 is that it is a fairly standard area of owner-occupied, inter-war semis - the type of area found in almost all British cities and towns.

Area 2

Area 2 is an inter-war council estate, built just a few years later than Area 1. However, despite being the 'youngest' area in terms of construction, it has by far the oldest population, over 44% were over 55 years of age, and over a third were retired. Not only were they the oldest population, but also they had lived there on average for the longest period. 44% had moved there because of slum clearance, and were still there after 30 or 40 years, presumably either because they did not want to move, or could not get a transfer to another estate. They scored relatively low on the 'attachment' questions, and found more 'dissatisfactions' with their local area. A third (more than the other areas) thought that where they were living now was worse than where they used to live, although in some cases they were comparing their present area now with their previous area 40 years ago! The Area 2 population came out lowest in affluence and mobility (only 36% of households had cars), and highest in the use of local facilities. Also, they had moved there from relatively short distances (presumably because of a residential qualification for Manchester council housing), with only 2½% moving into the area from more than eight kilometres (five miles) away. As well as being an 'old' population, their children also tended to be older - 25% of households had children over 16. This area would seem to be typical of estates of inter-war council houses, although the steady availability of new council housing in Manchester since 1945, has meant that there has been a low turnover of properties on this estate with a consequently 'aged' population.

Area 3

Area 3 has the most heterogeneous population with several different tenure types and 'housing classes' being represented. Much of the area consists of terraced houses, some with 'original' working class occupants, others with young professional couples. For many people this area was suitable as the first rung on the home-ownership ladder, and this form of 'gentrification' was compounded by the existence of many flats in the area, both for sale and rent. Many single people were attracted to this availability of flats, some of which are purpose-built, two-storey blocks, but most of which are within subdivided larger Victorian houses. There is also a large furnished rented sector in this area which consisted mainly of student households.

In comparison to the other three areas, residents in Area 3 were younger (over 20% were younger than 26), had less children and had lived there for a shorter period (a massive 48% for less than three years). This picture of a young, mobile population was confirmed by several other variables. Fewer had relatives living locally, more households had cars, overall they had moved into this area from further away, and most moved there principally because of a change of job or because they specifically liked the house or the area (25% in each of these two categories). In attitudinal terms, less claimed to feel "at home" there and fewer found the area "a friendly place", although a smaller proportion than in Area 4 were inclined to say that they would be "pleased to leave". Compared to the other areas, the population was more 'active' and more independent of their immediate environment - more regularly used various facilities and were more likely to use facilities outside their local area, and over 50% had a 'desire (or expectation) to move'.

Area 4

Area 4 was chosen to represent a 'traditional working class' urban community, but for various reasons it was not quite so representative of its type as the other three areas. Certainly, the changes since 1971 were more noticeable than for the other areas. Similar to Area 2, Area 4 residents obviously had 'local' origins, with many local friendships and locally-living relatives. It also has a relatively poor population with below average car ownership and a higher proportion of breadwinners in socio-economic groups IV and V. It displays the 'traditional' working class characteristic of privately rented unfurnished dwellings, but more properties are becoming owner-occupied. The incoming households tended to be young and to have either no children or very young children. As well as providing ideal 'first homes', this Area is similar to Area 3 in that there is some evidence of 'gentrification', especially with young professional couples moving into the GIA to take advantage of the preferential improvements grants. Almost 10% of the population fell into SEGs I and II, very different from what one might expect of a 'traditional working class' area. Also, almost 10% of the households consisted entirely of students, and another 6% had origins overseas - other traits dissimilar to the classic working class stereotype. Overall this area scored quite high on measures of attitudinal attachment, and on the use of local facilities, although the inferiority of Fallowfield village as a shopping centre to Withington village, was quite marked. However, less than 20% thought this area to be better than where they used to live, and although not exhibited in the tabulated survey results, there was a common agreement that the area had 'gone down' recently. It was too early to say if the GIA policy had

stemmed or even reversed this perceived decline.[38] In summation one might say that Area 4 was not a very good example of a 'traditional working class' community in the sense of Young and Willmott's description of Bethnal Green.[39] However it was probably one of the best approximations to it available in Southern Manchester in 1976.

Conclusion

From comparison with other surveys, and with Census information, there is no reason to assume that the observed patterns of behaviour and attitudes are not representative of 'typical' people living in unexceptional urban settings. Despite the divergence of Area 4 from the stereotype identified from the Manchester SIS data, the four areas satisfy the prescribed criteria for this present study.

NOTES AND REFERENCES - CHAPTER 6

1. The chi-squared significance test is not reliable when some cells contain no, or very few, individuals. Many of the tables presented fall into this category, and although the chi-squared significance levels may be greater than 0.0005, the results cannot be said to be statistically reliable or meaningful.

2. Assessment of dwelling type was made by the author; with 'flats' being defined as dwelling units on one floor (with the exception of special housing for the elderly), and 'terrace' including both intermediate - and end-terrace houses.

3. The 3.9% 'Aged Persons' Bungalows' recorded for Area 2 in this survey, is due to the fact that all three such properties selected in the sample, co-operated with the study and answered all the questions.

4. Including a lounge and a kitchen.

5. Area 4 cannot be termed 'traditional working class' with the same confidence as with the labels attached to the other three areas.

6. To avoid any embarrassment, age-group was estimated by the author rather than by asking a direct question. However, this guess was not simply based upon the physical appearance of the respondents, as length of residence at present address and at the two previous addresses had been ascertained during the interviews; and in many cases, in talking about their past many respondents had spontaneously mentioned, or 'given away' their age.

7. Local authorities have generally only recently begun to take any responsibility for housing single people under 40 years of age; and even now, few authorities accept single persons under 25 years onto their waiting lists.

8. Including women between 60 and 65 years.

9. Compared to 28.6% 'heads of households' revealed by this study.

10. Also, the expression 'less than 10 minutes walk' was used by the Community Attitudes Survey (1969) op. cit. (Ch. 4-6)

11. Young, M. & Willmott, P. (1962) op. cit. (Ch. 2-38). Rosser, C. & Harris, C. (1965) op. cit. (Ch. 2-45).

12. The Registrar-General's standard classification was used, in which S.E.G. III includes junior non-manual, and skilled manual. Unemployed respondents were classified according to most recent occupation; but no attempt was made to ascertain the previous occupation of retired informants (many of whom were widows whose husbands had been dead for many years). Many women were unable to give accurate descriptions of their husband's work, whilst other informants would only give sparse information on their husbands' employment.

13. It is possible that 'retired households' are over-represented in the samples as they are less likely to be away from their dwelling, and are consequently more easy to contact.

14. As proposed by Rex, J.A. (1968) op. cit. (Ch. 3-76) amongst others.

15. Community Attitudes Survey (1969) op. cit. (Ch. 4-6).

16. Ibid.

17. 'Foreign-born' includes those born in Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic in this instance.

18. These figures are not exactly comparable as the S.I.S. figure is a combination of those born in the Irish Republic (IRISHIM), Europe and the old Commonwealth (FOREIGN) and the new Commonwealth (NEWCOMIN).

19. Respondents were asked to give the single most important reason for moving to their present address; - their verbatim responses were recorded and post-coded into the categories described in the text.

20. For example by Durant, R. (1939) op. cit. (Ch. 1-54) and Young, M. & Willmott, P. (1962) op. cit. (Ch. 2-38).

21. For example by Willmott, P. (1963) op. cit. (Ch. 2-42) and Elias, N & Scotson, J.L. (1965) op. cit. (Ch. 2-40).

22. In response to the question: 'Is there an area around here, where you are now living, which you would say you belong to and where you feel "at home"?'

23. Community Attitudes Survey (1969) op. cit. (Ch. 4-6).

24. Ibid. p.11. Indeed, for the C.A.S. respondents living in the large urban areas (the County Boroughs at the time of the C.A.S. survey), only 76% of respondents felt "at home".

25. This discussion is continued in the following chapter.

26. In response to the questions: 'Do you find this part of Manchester a friendly sort of place?'. All 328 informants answered this question.

27. This point is also mentioned by Kuper, L. (1953) op. cit. (Ch. 2-19) the Community Attitudes Survey (1969) op. cit. (Ch. 4-6), and in the results of the pilot study of this project (Chapter 4).

28. In response to the question: 'Supposing you had to move away from your present neighbourhood, how sorry or pleased would you be?'. Only one respondent was unable to answer this question along the 5-point scale.

29. Community Attitudes Survey (1969) op. cit. (Ch. 4-6). p. 25. The word in brackets has been added by the author.

30. Based on the question: 'Do you think that the following facilities are adequate in your area?.....'

31. 'No/nil dissatisfactions' does not imply that a respondent judged all six facilities to be adequate; he/she could have answered 'don't know' or 'irrelevant' to one or more of the facilities.

32. In response to the question: 'Which shopping district do you generally use for your day-to-day shopping needs?'

33. However, this statistical relationship cannot be held to be very reliable for several reasons:-

    (1) many cells contain zeros which reduce the power of the measures of correlation.

    (2) Fallowfield is used as the nearest shopping centre for Area 4, although its 'pull' is obviously inferior to that of Withington.

(3) the smaller shopping centres mainly generate a very localised 'pull' and thus are liable to attract residents from only one of the four e.d.s surveyed.

(4) the catchall category 'somewhere else' accounts for a substantial proportion of the overall sample (14%).

34. The author checked that informants understood what was meant by'day-to-day shopping' (ie. groceries, etc.) when City Centre was indicated.

35. No statistics are quoted for tabulations involving 'other parts of the City and other areas' as there were over 60 such areas, and most cells included zeros, thus rendering any statistics inappropriate.

36. 'Local' was defined as 'within 10 minutes walk'.

37. What Gans, H.J. (1962) op.cit. (Ch. 3-29) terms the 'theory of facility-centred social change'.

38. In fact, in the short term at least, it had accelerated the decline, with some disastrous attempts at 'soft landscaping' and continuous and widespread building works.

39. Young, M. & Willmott, P. (1962) op. cit. (Ch. 2-38).

CHAPTER 7

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTACHMENT TO NEIGHBOURHOOD AND USE OF LOCAL FACILITIES AND SERVICES

7.1 *Introduction*

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the concepts of neighbourhood and community through an examination of the relationship between attitudinal attachment to neighbourhood and use of facilities and services available within and outside the neighbourhood. That is, the relationship between what Keller would term the 'affective' and the 'utilitarian'.[1] Many studies and analyses have been undertaken which involved an assessment of the 'affective', of what people feel about their area, or how much they identify with it. Indeed many community studies and urban plans have taken the stance that it is imperative for people to feel a strong attachment towards their local area, and for a 'community spirit' to be generated. However, 'utilitarian' studies of small urban areas have been much less common. Following the tradition of the Chicago School, information on use of local facilities has generally been used to generate a series of neighbourhood boundaries and help with the identification of a finite number of 'commonly recognised' neighbourhoods in a particular urban area.

The earliest study that impinged upon the relationship between the 'affective' and the 'utilitarian' was Kuper's 'Blueprint for Living Together', in which he noted the tendency for men to "go back to public houses in their previous residential areas".[2] Kuper also assessed the

comparative popularity of the local Social Club and the Community Centre. The family-activity centred Social Club showed a progressive decrease in membership with distance from the club itself; whereas the Community Centre, which mainly catered for adult activities displayed a less regular pattern of membership. This indicated to Kuper that it "attracts its members by more discriminating criteria than proximity."[3] The present study differs from the 'plotting the membership of a centre' approach in that it attempts to assess the pattern of use of individual households across a whole range of services and facilities.

Following the presentation of the major measures of attitudinal attachment and use of facilities, a model is developed in an attempt to 'explain' the patterns observed. This model is the socio-spatial typology, which was developed during the analysis of the results of the pilot survey. Its effectiveness as an aid to our understanding of what people expect from, and how they behave in, their local neighbourhoods, will be discussed in the concluding chapter.

7.2 *Attitudinal Attachment*

Three principal questions were used to differentiate between respondents on the attachment that they felt to their local area, that is, on the 'affective' dimension of their neighbourhood identification. The questions, which had proved to be successful discriminatory agents in the pilot survey, were:-

(1) 'Is there an area around here, where you are now living, which you would say you belong to, and where you feel "at home"?

(2) 'Do you find this part of Manchester a friendly sort of place?'

(3) 'Supposing you had to move away from your present neighbourhood, how sorry or pleased would you be?'

Although these questions obviously mean slightly different things to different people, they do at least provide a means of assessing the attachment which an individual feels towards his or her immediate surroundings. The relationship between the responses to these three questions is quite clearly crucial to any further analysis.

Table 7.1[4]

'Do you find this part of Manchester a friendly sort of place?'

'Is there an area around here..... where you feel "at home"?'

	FRIENDLY	MODERATE	UNFRIENDLY	
WITH HOME AREA	172 (73.2%)	61 (26.0%)	2 (0.9%)	235 = (100%)
WITHOUT HOME AREA	31 (33.7%)	52 (56.2%)	9 (9.8%)	92 = (100%)
COLUMN TOTALS	203 (62.1%)	113 (34.6%)	11 (3.4%)	= 327 (100%)

Chi-squared significance = .0000
Contingency coefficient = .3647

Of respondents who could identify a 'home area', 73% said that they found the area 'a friendly sort of place'; whereas only just over a third of those without a home area claimed to find their neighbourhood a friendly place. Conversely, less than 1% with a home area found it unfriendly, but almost 10% of those without a home area thought this part of Manchester

to be unfriendly. The strength of this relationship is supported by chi-squared and contingency coefficient tests, which indicate that the relationship between these two variables is both highly significant and relatively strong. The neutral point ('moderate') of the friendliness scale allowed respondents to record that although they did not feel that the area was 'very friendly', they would not go so far as to deem it 'unfriendly'. Clearly, people are likely to judge the 'friendliness' of their local area in comparison to perceived friendliness of other areas that they know (or knew) well, together with their own desire for a degree of friendliness with neighbours. Although the meaning of this variable is highly complex, the fact that it correlates highly with the ability to feel "at home" seems to indicate that it is of some use as a measure of local attachments.

Table 7.2

'Supposing you had to move away from your present neighbourhood, how sorry or pleased would you be?'

	VERY SORRY	QUITE SORRY	NEITHER SORRY NOR PLEASED	QUITE PLEASED	VERY PLEASED	
WITH HOME AREA	90 (38.3%)	100 (42.6%)	37 (15.7%)	3 (1.3%)	5 (2.1%)	= 235 (100%)
WITHOUT HOME AREA	6 (6.6%)	26 (28.6%)	28 (30.8%)	15 (16.5%)	16 (17.6%)	= 91 (100%)
COLUMN TOTALS	96 (29.4%)	126 (37.7%)	65 (19.9%)	18 (5.5%)	21 (6.4%)	= 326 (100%)

Chi-squared significance = .0000
Contingency coefficient = .4546

The relationship between these two variables is also statistically highly significant and, in comparison to other cross-tabulations produced by this survey, very strong. 81% of respondents with a home area indicated that they would be sorry (either 'very sorry' or 'quite sorry') to leave, but only 35% of those without a home area gave a similar response. On the other hand, only just over 3% of respondents with a home area said that they would be at all pleased to leave, whereas 34% of informants who did not feel "at home" stated that they would be pleased (either 'quite pleased' or 'very pleased') to leave. Once again, one cannot be totally confident of the accuracy of the 'sorry/pleased to leave' variable as a measure of attitudinal attachment. For example, those respondents who did feel "at home" but who would be pleased to leave might only be pleased to leave because they could only envisage pleasant or fortuitous situations leading to their departure - such as promotion to a new job in a different part of Great Britain, or having enough money to purchase their own property rather than rent from a private landlord or the council. These responses would clearly not necessarily be related to being disaffected by, or disliking, one's present area of residence. Nevertheless, for most informants this question appears to discriminate between those who are and those who are not attached to their neighbourhood.

Table 7.3

	VERY SORRY	QUITE SORRY	NEITHER SORRY NOR PLEASED	QUITE PLEASED	VERY PLEASED	
FRIENDLY	86 (42.6%)	81 (40.1%)	28 (13.9%)	4 (2.0%)	3 (1.5%)	= 202 (100%)
MODERATE	10 (8.8%)	46 (40.4%)	37 (32.5%)	11 (9.6%)	10 (8.8%)	= 114 (100%)
UNFRIENDLY	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (27.3%)	8 (72.7%)	= 11 (100%)
COLUMN TOTALS	96 (29.4%)	127 (38.8%)	65 (19.9%)	18 (5.5%)	21 (6.4%)	

Chi-sqaured significance = .0000
Contingency coefficient = .5641

The statistical relationship between these two variables appears to be even stronger and just as significant, as the relationships examined in the previous two tables. The 11 respondents who stated that they found 'this part of Manchester an unfriendly sort of place', were giving vent to rather strong feelings as all of them also indicated that they would be pleased to leave their present neighbourhood. Conversely, 83% who said they found the area 'friendly' would be sorry to leave, and very few stated that they would be at all pleased to move away. Also, the respondents who chose the neutral category ('moderate') on the friendliness question, tended to choose the non-extreme points on the five point 'sorry or pleased to leave' scale.

Relationship between measures of attachment and other variables

As will be argued in a later section of this chapter, a combination of the responses to these three questions will yield a more reliable assessment of attitudinal attachment than any of the questions

individually. However, before discussing the value of the derived variables, it will be useful to note the relationships observed between these three measures of attachment, and various other significant variables. This will provide a more detailed understanding of the nature of the response to the three questions, and will indicate which social variables are most important to the development of strong local attachments.

Table 7.4

Length of Residence	With Home Area	Friendly	Sorry to leave
<3 yrs	56.6	56.6	57.9
3-5 yrs	64.3	54.8	61.9
6-10 yrs	69.4	77.8	75.0
11-20 yrs	76.9	56.1	68.2
>20 yrs	83.2	67.3	76.0
'Born here'	85.7	57.1	71.5
Overall	71.9	61.9	68.2 [5]
	(.0030)	(.3323)	(.0205)

Age of Respondent	With Home Area	Friendly	Sorry to leave
<25 yrs	54.5	57.6	48.5
26-35 yrs	61.5	60.4	63.6
36-45 yrs	71.7	53.3	59.3
46-55 yrs	76.5	61.5	78.8
56-65 yrs	83.9	64.5	77.4
>65 yrs	89.3	75.0	82.1
Overall	71.9	61.9	68.2
	(.0007)	(.5083)	(.0006)

Socio-Economic Group	With Home Area	Friendly	Sorry to leave
I & II	71.1	68.1	75.6
III	69.8	52.6	59.4
IV & V	66.7	62.2	68.9
Student	41.2	64.7	35.3
Retired	89.8	69.5	83.1
Overall	71.9	61.9	68.2
	(.0011)	(.0089)	(.0041)

Motor car ownership	With Home Area	Friendly	Sorry to leave
Car	68.8	59.8	67.1
No car	75.0	63.8	69.1
Overall	71.7 [6]	61.7	68.0
	(.2639)	(.6556)	(.2467)

Tenure Group	With Home Area	Friendly	Sorry to leave
Owner-occ	80.1	70.6	70.4
Rent furn	52.6	52.6	42.1
Rent unfurn	54.3	43.5	56.5
Local auth	67.1	53.9	76.3
Overall	71.9	61.9	68.2
	(.0005)	(.0031)	(.1295)

Present Area Compared to Previous Area	With Home Area	Friendly	Sorry to leave
Better	90.6	71.7	84.0
Same	74.3	65.3	72.0
Worse	26.4	24.5	30.1
Overall	70.1	59.9	67.8
	(.0000)	(.0000)	(.0000)

Total Connections With previous area	With Home Area	Friendly	Sorry to leave
0	76.5	64.2	73.8
1	80.3	66.3	76.1
2	69.5	71.2	59.3
3	60.7	60.7	75.0
4	42.9	41.4	44.8
5	54.5	45.5	54.6
6	*	*	*
Overall	71.9	61.9	68.2
	(.0002)	(.0006)	(.0079)

Distance of Previous Area	With Home Area	Friendly	Sorry to leave
<5 kms	75.7	63.0	70.0
5-7 kms	80.8	61.5	76.9
8-15 kms	*	*	*
16-50 kms	*	*	*
51-150 kms	58.3	53.8	83.3
>150 kms	50.0	68.2	54.5
Overseas	*	*	*
Overall	71.8	61.8	68.4
	(.0005)	(.0158)	(.0138)

* represents less than 10 respondents in certain class groupings, thus rendering percentages highly misleading

Relatives within 10 Minutes Walk	With Home Area	Friendly	Sorry to Leave
Yes	90.6	69.8	82.2
No	59.8	56.8	59.1
Overall	71.9	61.9	67.8
	(.0000)	(.0397)	(.0000)

Frequency of visits outside local area	With Home Area	Friendly	Sorry to leave
Twice weekly	50.0	53.3	50.0
Weekly	60.2	53.8	60.2
Twice monthly	71.2	54.7	68.0
Monthly	75.8	69.7	76.9
Seldom	92.6	76.5	76.5
Never	77.8	55.6	77.8
Overall	71.9	61.9	68.2
	(.0000)	(.0517)	(.0019)

Neighbouring Type	With Home Area	Friendly	Sorry to leave
1	*	*	*
2	79.7	63.9	79.0
3	75.6	68.5	65.1
4	58.8	52.9	63.2
5	33.3	25.0	25.0
Overall	71.9	61.9	68.2
	(.0006)	(.0006)	(.0000)

Total dis-satisfaction with Area	With Home Area	Friendly	Sorry to Leave
0	96.8	75.0	92.2
1	93.2	73.9	89.8
2	77.1	60.0	65.2
3	53.1	57.1	40.8
4	25.6	46.5	41.8
5	0.0	0.0	8.3
6	*		*
Overall	71.9	61.9	68.2
	(.0000)	(.0000)	(.0000)

Desire to move	With Home Area	Friendly	Sorry to leave
Yes	44.2	42.0	40.5
No	92.1	76.3	88.4
Overall	71.9	61.9	68.2
	(.0000)	(.0000)	(.0000)

Figures given in Table 7.4 are the percentages of respondents in each class interval who gave positive responses to the three attitudinal questions - that is, who "did feel at home", "find the area a friendly place", or "were sorry (either 'quite sorry' or 'very sorry') to leave".

From the above tables it is apparent that the three measures of attachment have strong and highly significant relationships with some variables, but virtually no relationship at all with others.

Ability to identify a 'home area' and being 'sorry to leave' both increase dramatically with advancing years - both in terms of age of the respondents and their length of residence in an area. However, finding a local area 'friendly' is almost totally unrelated to length of residence or informant's age.

There is little distinction between socio-economic groups in terms of the attachment measures, except that retired respondents were consistently more attached to their local area than the average response, and students were far less attached. This possibly reflects elderly residents' psychological and emotional dependence upon their local area. Ownership of a motor car is only very weakly related to attitudinal attachment - respondents without cars were slightly more likely to show signs of attachment to their local area. This weak relationship is perhaps somewhat surprising in that one might have expected non-car owners to be less physically mobile and so be within their 'local area' or 'home area' for more of their time and build up a stronger identification. With this sample of respondents, this is clearly not the case.

Informants who owned their own property or rented from the council were more likely to be attached to their local area, especially in terms of being able to identify a 'home area'. Respondents who rented privately displayed less local attachment, and interestingly there was no obvious difference between those renting furnished or unfurnished accommodation. It might have been expected that people living in furnished accommodation represented a more transient population than those with unfurnished tenancies, and were thus more likely to 'move on' and to fail to develop any local attachments. The results do not support this proposition, and private tenants living in unfurnished accommodation do not appear to exhibit the stability generated by local identification any more than those in furnished properties.

Strength of feelings towards, and connection with, respondents' previous area of residence appear to be very strongly related to the ability to develop strong local attachments to their present area. This is particularly true for comparisons drawn between 'present' and 'previous'

area of residence. The strength and significance of this relationship had not been expected from previous studies, although certainly Kuper[7] and Young and Willmott[8] made reference to it. Respondents with few existing connections with their previous areas were more likely to build up attachments to their present area, whereas those with four or more connections did not display such apparent signs of local identification. This might imply that people whose previous area of residence is a long way off, and thus more difficult to retain connections with, would be more likely to develop local attachments. In fact the reverse is true, people who lived previously over 50 kms (30 miles) away are less likely to give positive responses to the three major attitudinal attachment questions. Perhaps this indicates that for many people a long-established experience, and identification, of a fairly large area (for example a conurbation), is a pre-requisite for the development of very local attachments at the neighbourhood level.

Having relatives living nearby is also likely to assist with the development of local identification, particularly the ability to "feel at home" and "being sorry to leave". This finding is in accord with the prominence given to kinship in studies of local areas or communities. Respondents who frequently visited friends or relatives living outside their local area were less likely to develop strong feelings of attachment to the area in which they lived, although once again this relationship was less pronounced for the assessment of the 'friendliness' of their local area.

Respondents who indicated that they wished to maintain a high level of privacy from their neighbours, were far less likely to give positive responses to the attachment questions. Similarly, the respondents who

found fault with their local area over the adequacy of several facilities and services were less likely to display high levels of local attachment; and those who expressed a desire to move also found difficulty in identifying with their local area. The statistical significance of the latter two variables against the three measures of attachment was very high indeed, and appears to indicate that the relationship between attachment to local area, being dissatisfied with local facilities, and wishing to move away, is noticeably strong.

The complex relationship between attitudes and behaviour revealed in the above tables demonstrates the effectiveness of these three questions as measures of attitudinal attachment.

7.3 *Use of Facilities and Services*

It is conspicuous from the data presented in Chapter 6 that certain facilities and services were more readily available to respondents according to which of the four sample sub-areas they lived in. It will therefore be fruitless to examine the complexities of the relationships of the 'use of facilities' measures in the same detail as those of the 'attitudinal attachment' indices.

Nevertheless, some further analysis is appropriate. The three questions used to determine each respondent's use of local facilities and services were:-

(i) 'Which shopping district do you generally use for your day-to-day shopping needs?'

(2) 'Which doctor are you registered with? - please give address'

(3) 'If you make use of any of the following facilities or institutions, could you please tell me whether you usually use facilities within 10 minutes walk, or whether you travel to use facilities available elsewhere in Manchester, and if so, then where?

- churches;
- pubs;
- sports;
- clubs or associations' [9]

The detailed breakdowns of responses to these questions are presented in Chapter 6. However, by simplifying the response categories the basic relationships between these three variables can be determined. That is, the three questions were recoded as follows:-

(1) Shopping district used was simplified to -
City Centre, Local (that is, Withington Village or closer), or Non-local.

(2) Address of doctor was coded to -
Local (that is, Withington or Fallowfield for Area 4) or Non-local (all other areas).

(3) Use of facilities categorised as-
Local or Non-local (that is, excluding all households who did not use a particular facility).

The only pattern to emerge was that there was a small, but remarkably consistent, positive relationship between the variables. That is, people who use local shops are slightly more likely to have a local doctor, use local pubs, churches, etc. and vice versa.

Table 7.5

Shopping Centre Used	Address of Doctor		Use of Churches		Use of Pubs		Use of Sports Facilities		Use of Clubs	
	(n=324)		(n=128)		(n=222)		(n=85)		(n=101)	
	Local	Non-Local	Local	Non-Local	Local	Non-Local	Local	Non-Local	Local	Non-Local
City Centre	56.2	43.7	*	*	58.3	41.7	*	*	*	*
Local	62.9	37.1	94.4	5.6	69.3	30.7	48.4	51.6	38.0	62.0
Non-Local	56.6	43.4	88.2	11.8	63.2	36.8	40.0	60.0	34.6	65.4
Overall	61.1	38.9	93.8	6.2	67.1	32.9	47.1	52.9	36.6	63.4

(All figures in percentages)
(* indicates less than ten respondents)

Unlike the attitudinal attachment questions, the use of facilities variables do not display strong relationships between one another. Each variable alone appears to indicate little about a household's behaviour within its local area, but taken together they may offer a more realistic summation of tendencies to use local or non-local facilities and resources.

7.4 *Derivation of Socio-Spatial Typology*

The results presented in chapter 6 demonstrate that the four sub-sample areas were indeed quite different, and that their populations were quite dissimilar across a range of social characteristics. However, at the level of the individual household there were certain similarities in the

apparently chaotic patterns of behaviour and attachment that were observed. These similarities could be described as generalised responses to living in any urban area based upon similar aspirations and available resources.

To assist in our understanding of 'how' people live in an area and what they expect or do not expect from that area, a method of summarising the most important variables was developed. This was achieved by the use of the socio-spatial typology, which was first developed as a means of analysing the results of the pilot survey of this project. This typology allows several variables to be condensed into a single measure, which attempts to explain the various patterns of attachment and use of facilities that were observed.

The method of construction of the socio-spatial typology was broadly similar to that described in chapter 4 in relation to the pilot survey. It involved the creation of an index of attitudinal attachment and an index of use of facilities, based upon the variables examined in the two preceding sections of this chapter. The inter-play of these two indices revealed the four socio-spatial types. The mechanics of this process were briefly as follows:

> Points were awarded for the various responses to the six[10] principal questions. These points were either positive (+) or negative (-) according to whether they indicated a response which demonstrated attachment to the area, or not, or a use of a local or non-local facility. The exact method of scoring is described in detail in Appendix 10, together

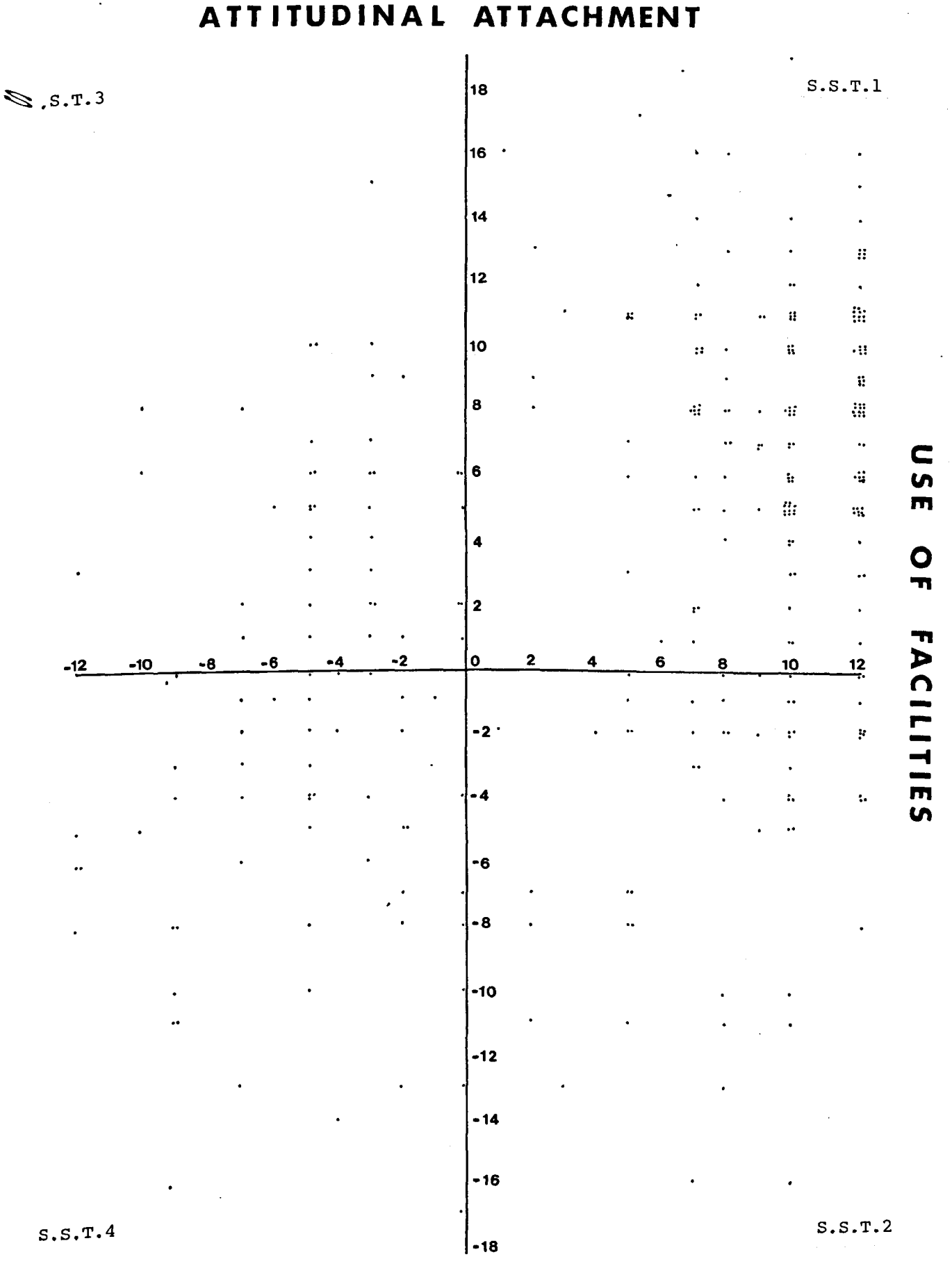
with the resultant patterns for each of the four sub-areas. Several methods of scoring were considered - (1) all questions scored equally, (2) responses weighted according to their rarity, (3) a compromise between these two methods in which some questions were considered as more important than others. Method (3) was eventually adopted as it was relatively simple and yet allowed for some variables to be assigned more importance than others - for example, use of a local shopping centre was judged to be more significant than registration with a local doctor. This method of scoring was also suitable in that when the scores for each index were totalled, overall zeros (that is when the pluses and minuses were equal) were rare. Where zeros did occur they were treated as marginally negative scores.

In the pilot survey, the socio-spatial typology was developed primarily as a sampling framework for the follow-up (verbal) interview. In the main survey the typology was used as a method of differentiating between all respondents and as a basis for understanding the different 'life styles' observed. However, the socio-spatial types are really 'ideal types' or 'polar types', and by assigning each individual household to a particular s.s.t., the usefulness of the concept of the typology is being stretched. This is because these 'ideal types' give only a poor description for the patterns observed for certain 'ambiguous' respondents - that is, those with totalled scores close to zero.

The scores of all 328 households are presented in Figure 7.1, as a scattergram of the Index of Attitudinal Attachment against the Index of Use of Facilities.

Figure 7.1

SCATTERGRAM SHOWING INDEX OF ATTITUDINAL ATTACHMENT AGAINST INDEX OF USE OF FACILITIES



Thus, in order to discern those individuals who arenearer the polar types, two further typologies were developed which excluded those respondents with aggregate scores for each index close to zero. These were:-

(a) for those individuals with above average scores in each s.s.t. for the four sub-areas, (see figure 7.2)

(b) for those individuals who comprised the'extreme 25' in each of the s.s.t.s (this leads to the 100 'extreme' cases with the other 228 households being ignored), (see figure 7.3).

Stylised Scattergrams to Represent the Two Additional Typologies Used

Figure 7.2

(a) Above Average

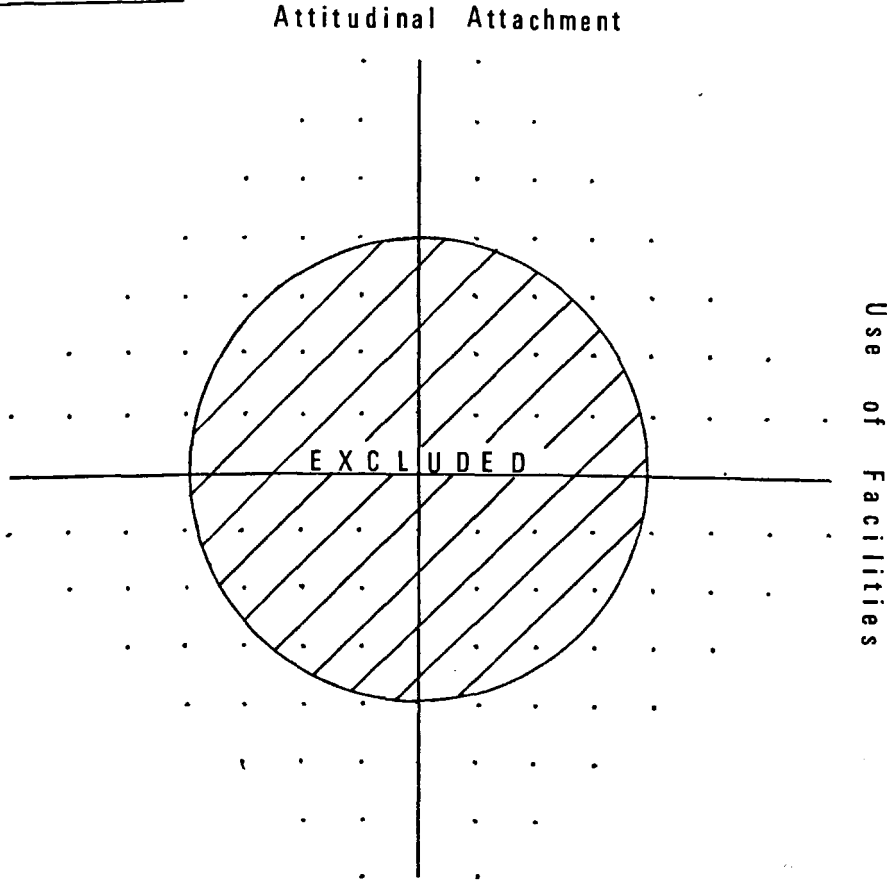


Figure 7.3

(b) Extreme 25s

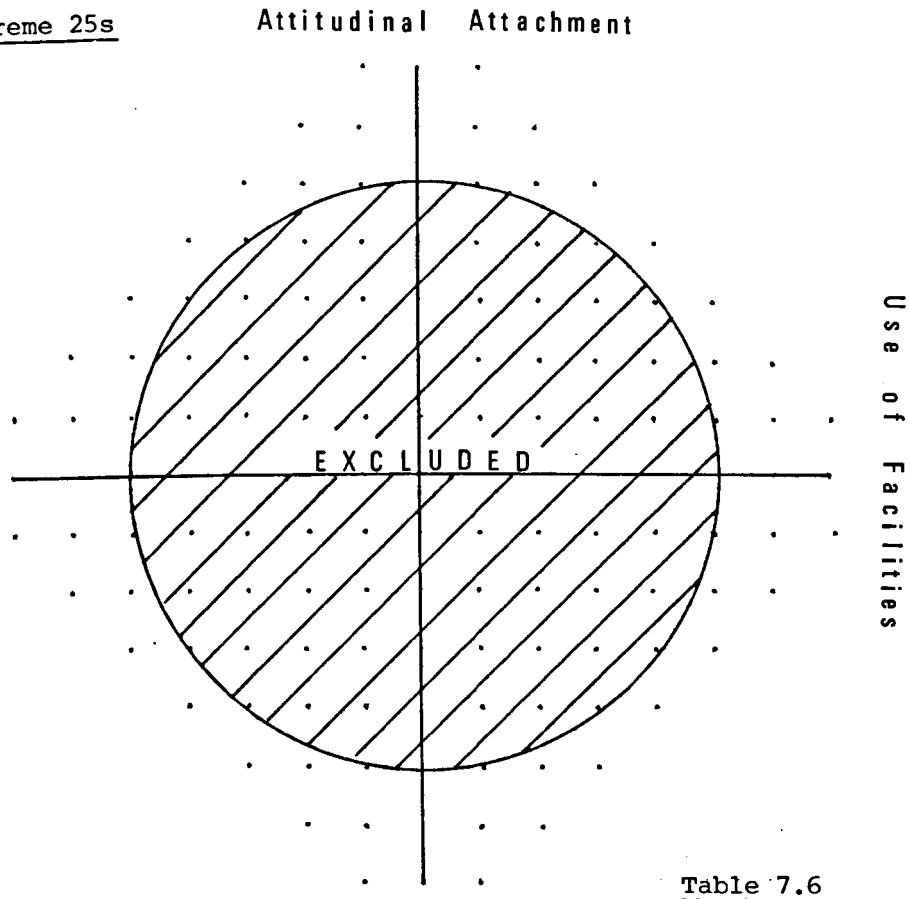


Table 7.6

Overall Counts for the Three Typologies

	SOCIO-SPATIAL TYPES				
	1	2	3	4	Totals
A. All Coded	178 (54.3%)	60 (18.3%)	38 (11.6%)	52 (15.9%)	328 (100%)
B. Above Average	100 (43.7%)	55 (24.0%)	33 (14.4%)	41 (17.9%)	229 (100%)
C. Extreme 25s	25 (25.0%)	25 (25.0%)	25 (25.0%)	25 (25.0%)	100 (100%)

The overall effect of the two additional typologies is to reduce the influence of socio-spatial type 1 upon the total sample. In the tables that follow breakdowns are given by the full (all 328 respondents) socio-spatial typology. However, in the text, references may be made to one of the more extreme groupings where a relationship is obscured by the full typology. Of course the statistical significance of the relationships produced by the two extra typologies is even smaller considering the reduced number in the various populations.

7.5 *Survey Results Analysed by Socio-Spatial Types*

The results are presented in six sections, each comprising a composite table of cross-tabulations plus a commentary outlining the more significant features. To ease comparisons all results are given in percentages (to the nearest whole figure), and unless stated at the base of the table sections, the total sample for each variable is that presented at the beginning of each table. As with the results in chapter 6, two measures are sometimes given of the statistical significance and strength of each relationship:- the chi-squared significance and the contingency coefficient. Considering the nature of the socio-spatial types, these statistics are only offered when they appear to be of high significance.

The first such table (Table 7.7, overleaf) presents the breakdown of five major demographic variables by the full typology of socio-spatial types.

Table 7.7

	Socio-Spatial Type	Age of Respondent (in years)						Sex of Respondent			Marital Status				Number of Children					Presence of Children in various age categories (in years)				
		16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	over 65	Male	Female	Both	Married	Single	Widowed	Divorced	0	1	2	3	4+	0-1	2-4	5-10	11-16	Over 16
High Attitudinal Attachment / High use	1 (n=178)	5.1	20.8	18.5	19.7	12.4	23.0	19	73	8	73	12	16	0	52	10	21	12	6	6	13	19	24	23
Low Attitudinal Attachment / Low use	2 (n=60)	16.7	36.7	15.0	11.7	5.0	15.0	18	68	13	80	8	12	0	47	18	20	12	3	12	15	23	22	10
High Attitudinal Attachment / High use	3 (n=38)	10.5	34.2	23.7	18.4	5.3	7.9	21	68	11	66	16	13	5	42	16	24	13	5	8	18	24	24	21
Low Attitudinal Attachment / Low use	4 (n=52)	19.2	46.2	17.3	5.8	7.7	3.8	29	60	12	67	23	6	4	50	14	17	14	6	10	15	31	14	12
	TOTAL	10.1	29.3	18.3	15.9	9.5	17.1	21	69	10	72	13	13	1	49	13	20	13	5	8	14	22	22	19

Chi-squared Significance	.0001	.6421	.8905
Contingency Coefficient	.3459	.1132	.1988

Of the five demographic characteristics tabulated overleaf, only the age of the respondent appears to be highly correlated with S.S.T. S.S.T.1 includes more elderly people, whereas S.S.T.4 is predominantly made up of respondents under 35 years of age. The more refined samples exaggerate this effect - with 28% of S.S.T.1 being over 65 years in the 'Above Average' sample, and 86% of S.S.T.4 being under 36 years in the 'Extreme 25s' sample. In more general terms there appears to be a link between high attitudinal attachment and increasing age, although this may be merely a function of elderly people having lived at their present address for longer.

The other demographic characteristics show only slight relationships with the Socio-Spatial Typology. In particular, the sex and marital status of the interviewees appear to have little bearing upon the S.S.T.s In fact these two variables are not strongly correlated with any other variables in the study, and this would appear to vindicate the expedient of interviewing any adult household member rather than insisting upon interviewing the housewife, or the household head, alone.

The pilot study suggested that the S.S.T.s would differ significantly in the relative number of children living at home within the households; and in particular, that S.S.T.3 would include large numbers of families with children, whilst S.S.T.2 would probably include relatively few. The results show that this was evidently not so, although S.S.T.3 did include the highest proportion of households with children (58%), and on average contained 1.24 children per household as compared to 1.17 for S.S.T.4, 1.13 for S.S.T.1, and 1.07 for S.S.T.2. Also, in line with the general age distribution, S.S.T.2 households tended to have more older children (over 11 years of age), and S.S.T.4 fewer.

2. Social Characteristics

Table 7.8

		Socio-Spatial Type	Socio-econ. Grp. I & II	III	IV & V	Student	Retired	Car Ownership	Telephone Ownership	Relative within 10 mins walk	Friends Within 10 mins walk
High Attitudinal Attachment	High use	1 (n=178)	28	33	12	2	25	47	70	53	79
	Low use	2 (n=60)	27	38	15	5	15	63	62	38	73
Low Attitudinal Attachment	High use	3 (n=38)	26	37	21	11	5	58	71	13	42
	Low use	4 (n=52)	29	39	14	12	8	60	65	13	29
		TOTAL	28	35	14	5	18	53	68	39	66
Chi-squared significance										.0000	.0000
Contingency coefficient										.3263	.3843

There were no significant differences according to Socio-Economic Group of head of household, car ownership or possession of a telephone. Indeed, SEGs I & II and III were almost perfectly evenly distributed between the S.S.T.s, with SEGs IV and V only over-represented in S.S.T.3. However, the distributions of retired persons and students (who in total comprised almost a quarter of the full sample) did display major differences. There were relatively high proportions of student households in S.S.T.s 3 and 4 and relatively high numbers of households exclusively containing elderly persons in S.S.T.s 1 and 2. In fact 25% of households in S.S.T.1 were headed by retired persons. Both these tendencies were exaggerated in the 'Above Average' and 'Extreme 25s' samples.

The pilot study indicated that S.S.T.3 would include relatively few households with car and S.S.T.2 relatively large numbers. Again, the results of the main survey do not uphold this proposition, although S.S.T.2 does contain the highest proportion of households with car (63%). The C.A.S. study[11] would appear to indicate that S.S.T.s 3 and 4 may include more households with telephones. This proposition was completely refuted.

However, the suggestion that attitudinal attachment to an area may be strongly linked with the development of local kinship and friendship patterns, appears to be considerably borne out. The S.S.T.s are strongly correlated with both 'existence of relatives within 10 minutes walk' and 'existence of friends within 10 minutes walk'. Both cross-tabulations reveal statistically highly significant results, with S.S.T.s 1 and 2 containing proportionately over twice as many households with such ties as households represented in S.S.T.s 3 and 4.

3. Housing Related Characteristics

Table 7.9

		SOCIO-SPATIAL TYPE	TENURE				DWELLING TYPE				SHARED DWELLING
			Owner-occ	Rent-furn.	Rent unfurn	Rent-local auth.	Semi-detached	Terrace	Flat	A P bungalow	
High Attitudinal Attachment	High use	1 (n=178)	64	4	8	25	48	41	10	1	9
	Low use	2 (n= 60)	60	5	22	13	35	52	12	2	7
Low Attitudinal Attachment	High use	3 (n=38)	40	8	18	34	37	40	24	0	16
	Low use	4 (n=52)	44	12	23	21	27	48	25	0	21
		TOTAL	57	6	14	23	41	44	14	1	11

Chi-squared significance = .0030
Contingency coefficient = .2661

Analysis of housing-related characteristics does not reveal any statistically highly-significant results. All the four major tenure groups are represented in each S.S.T. Owner-occupiers are over-represented in S.S.T.s 1 and 2, whilst local authority tenants are over-represented in S.S.T.3, but rather scarce in S.S.T.2. Both the privately-rented tenure groups are

under-represented in S.S.T.1, but not heavily so. As might be expected from the transient nature of tenants who rent furnished accommodation, many fall into S.S.T.4, although unfurnished tenants are over-represented in all but S.S.T.1.

In some respects the breakdown by dwelling-type mirrors the analysis by tenure group. The owner-occupiers are more affluent and tend to live in better types of dwellings, which in this part of Manchester means semi-detached houses. Thus, there are proportionately more semi-dwellers in S.S.T.1, and less in S.S.T.4. Those living in terraced houses could belong to any of the four tenure groups; they show an even distribution across the S.S.T.s. Flat dwellers however, are unlikely to be owner-occupiers, and are quite significantly over-represented in S.S.T.s 3 and 4. These tendences are magnified in 'Above Average' and 'Extreme 25s' samples, with semi-detached households accounting for 68% of S.S.T.1 and flat-dwellers making up 32% of S.S.T.4, in the 'Extreme 25s' sample.

Relatively few respondents lived in dwellings shared with other households. However, those who did were far more likely to fall into S.S.T.s 3 and 4 and to display a low attitudinal attachment to their local area. Again, this relationship comes out even clearer in the 'Extreme 25s' sample where households in shared dwellings represent 32% of S.S.T.4, but 0% of S.S.T.1.

Table 7.10

4. Residential Mobility

Attitudinal Attachment		Socio-Spatial Type	Length of Residence in Present Area						Principal Reason for Moving to Present Area								
			less than 3 yrs	3-5 yrs	6-10 yrs	11-20 yrs	over 20 yrs	'born here'	marriage	buy own house	deterioration of previous area	bigger/smaller house	just like house and/or area	change of job	family/friends connections	slum clearance	'born here'/ parents home
High	High Use	1 (n=178)	15	10	11	22	40	2	40	14	1	4	12	11	3	11	5
	Low Use	2 (n=60)	28	15	10	18	23	5	43	18	2	5	10	8	2	3	8
Low	High Use	3 (n=38)	24	26	8	21	21	0	16	5	0	8	13	19	11	29	0
	Low Use	4 (n=52)	44	10	15	15	15	0	29	14	0	10	6	24	4	14	0
		TOTAL	23	13	11	20	31	2	37	14	1	6	11	14	4	12	4

(n=327)

Chi-squared significance	.0004	.0031
Contingency coefficient	.3305	.3555

Table 7.10 (cont'd)

		Socio-Spatial Type	Distance of Area of Previous Residence							Length of Residence in Previous Area					
			Withington	less than 5 kms	5-8 kms	9-15 kms	16-50 kms	51-150 kms	over 150 kms	overseas	less than 3 yrs	3-5 yrs	6-10 yrs	11-20 yrs	over 20 yrs	'Born here'
High Attitudinal Attachment	High Use	1 (n=178)	21	56	9	2	2	4	5	2	14	9	5	10	6	57
	Low Use	2 (n=60)	19	63	9	0	0	2	7	2	17	10	8	8	5	51
Low Attitudinal Attachment	High Use	3 (n=38)	0	61	11	5	5	5	11	3	18	11	13	13	3	42
	Low Use	4 (n=52)	8	60	2	10	2	6	12	2	12	21	10	8	6	44
		TOTAL	16	58	8	3	2	4	7	2	15	11	7	10	6	52

Chi-squared significance .0337

Contingency coefficient .3081

It was claimed in the pilot study that aspects of residential mobility play a major role in determining an individual's attitudinal attachment to his area of residence. On the whole, the results of the main survey support this assertion, but not in a forceful way. The most statistically significant relationship is with 'length of residence at present address'. There was a marked tendency for those who had lived in the area for less than five years to fall into S.S.T.s 3 and 4, and for more established households to belong to S.S.T.1. However, in some respects the most impressing finding is that some people can develop very strong feelings of attachment to an area after only one or two years, whereas others can fail to develop such affections after 20 or 30 years of residence. The general tendencies though are for length of residence to show a positive relationship with attitudinal attachment. This can be further demonstrated by the average length of residence of respondents in each of the four S.S.T.s

Table 7.11

	Average Length of Residence
S.S.T. 1	19.5 years
S.S.T. 2	14.4 years
S.S.T. 3	11.8 years
S.S.T. 4	9.2 years

It may be noted that average lengths of residence for the 'Extreme 25s' sample are similar, except that the average for S.S.T.4 drops to 5.7 years. Clearly, this variable is an important discriminating agent between the S.S.T.s

All but one of the respondents were able to offer a principal reason for moving to their present address. Although the resultant pattern is confused by the number of categories, certain features are clearly visible. There appears to have been a distinct tendency for those moving due to marriage, to develop strong attitudinal ties. Whilst many people who moved in order to buy their own home also showed high attitudinal attachment, a significant proportion did not. One particular point of interest is that those moving due to marriage and in order to buy their own home, are both most over-represented in S.S.T.2. On the other hand, those respondents who were 'forced' into moving by a change of job or by redevelopment and slum clearance, were far more likely to have a very low attitudinal attachment to their new local area. Another significant point is that, of the respondents who were born at their present address or moved there with parents when they were small children, all of them developed a high attitudinal attachment.

A further link between area of origin and development of attachment can be interpreted from the analysis of the distance of respondents' previous area of residence. Those with origins in the same part of Manchester as where they were presently resident, were massively over-represented in S.S.T.s 1 and 2. Conversely those with origins more than eight kilometres from Withington were slightly over-represented in S.S.T.s 3 and 4.

S.S.T.s 1 and 2 also contained higher proportions of respondents born in their previous area of residence; suggesting that they had either been born in Withington or had only made one major residential move in their lifetime.

5. Attitudes Towards Present Area of Residence

Table 7.12

		Socio-Spatial Type	Total Dissatisfactions with Facilities							Total Connections With Area of Previous Residence								Comparison With Previous Area			
			0	1	2	3	4	5	6	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Not relevant	Better	Same	Worse	Better and worse
High Attitudinal Attachment	High use	1 (n=178)	34	34	21	7	5	0	1	32	24	16	5	5	2	0	17	54	40	5	1
	Low use	2 (n=60)	5	40	25	22	8	0	0	8	23	23	16	8	3	0	17	40	36	13	11
Low Attitudinal Attachment	High use	3 (n=38)	3	5	29	37	18	8	0	26	29	13	13	11	0	3	5	16	31	47	6
	Low use	4 (n=52)	0	4	14	20	44	17	2	17	8	23	10	23	10	2	8	6	33	50	10
		TOTAL	20	27	21	15	13	4	1	25	22	18	9	9	3	1	14	39	37	19	5
Chi-squared significance			.0000							.0000								.0000			
Contingency Coefficient			.5947							.4037								.5006			

The relationships of the S.S.T.s to other attitudes towards present area of residence, were all statistically highly significant. Respondents in S.S.T.s 1 and 2 were far less dissatisfied with local facilities and services than those in S.S.T.s 3 and 4. In fact this relationship was the strongest statistical relationship revealed in the whole survey, and can be displayed in a simpler way by the average number of dissatisfactions recorded for each S.S.T.

Table 7.13

	Average dissatisfactions
S.S.T. 1	1.17
S.S.T. 2	1.88
S.S.T. 3	2.87
S.S.T. 4	3.63

The same pattern is produced by 'comparison of present area with previous area of residence'. Respondents in S.S.T.s 1 and 2 were far more likely to consider that their present area was 'better'; whereas those who thought that it was'worse' were strongly over-represented in S.S.T.s 3 and 4. Apparently, if people feel that their present local area is not as 'good' as where they used to live, then this acts as a major impediment to their developing strong feelings of attachment to their present area.

From the results of the pilot survey, it could be postulated that individuals who fall within S.S.T.s 2 and 4 would be more likely to attempt to retain their links with their previous area of residence.

This hypothesis was thoroughly supported by the results of the main survey. This is demonstrated by the average number of connections per household (excluding those to whom this question was not relevant), and the effect is magnified by the 'Extreme 25s' sample.

Table 7.14

Average Connections

	Full Sample	Extreme 25s
S.S.T. 1	1.18	0.78
S.S.T. 2	2.04	2.35
S.S.T. 3	1.61	1.21
S.S.T. 4	2.54	2.84

6.Other Measures of Feelings Towards Local Area and People

Table 7.15

		Socio-Spatial Type	Neighbouring type: Very sociable 1	2	3	4	Very reserved 5	Frequency of visits outside local area: Twice weekly	weekly	Twice monthly	monthly	seldom	never	Do friends know one another'	Desire to move
High Attitudinal Attachment	High use	1 (n=178)	1	42	41	16	1	7	21	12	25	29	6	65	20
	Low use	2 (n=60)	0	33	43	22	2	5	33	27	13	18	3	73	45
Low Attitudinal Attachment	High use	3 (n=38)	0	40	26	26	8	8	45	13	21	8	5	63	71
	Low use	4 (n=52)	2	19	35	33	12	23	37	21	10	4	6	58	92
		TOTAL	1	36	39	21	4	9	28	16	20	21	6	65	42
Chi-squared significance			.0020					.0000						.0000	
Contingency coefficient			.2937					.3739						.4871	

The only clear relationship to emerge from the analysis of neighbouring types was that 'sociable neighbours' are over-represented in S.S.T.1 and 'reserved neighbours' in S.S.T.4. This is as might be expected since since those in S.S.T.4 are more likely to want to avoid as much interaction with their local area as they can.

However, the opposite pattern emerges from the analysis of frequency of social visits outside the local area. Those whose visits are rare (monthly or less) are more likely to be included in S.S.T.1, but those who make such social visits very frequently (weekly or more) are over-represented in S.S.T.4. Again, it is apparent that households falling within S.S.T. 1 are able to satisfy a higher proportion of their demands from within their own local area, whereas S.S.T. 4 households look outside their immediate locality to meet their demands for social interaction. This relationship is statistically highly significant, and once again is accentuated by the more refined samples, with 80% of S.S.T. 1 households visiting outside their local area monthly or less, and 76% of S.S.T. 4 visiting weekly or more.

On both visiting and neighbouring type, S.S.T.s 2 and 3 display patterns close to the average for the whole sample.

The question "Do your friends know one another? (in a big circle)" failed to produce significant differences between the S.S.T.s. Households in S.S.T.2 appeared to have the most 'connected' family networks, and those in S.S.T.4 the least, but the differences were not striking.

However, the question on whether the household had any serious intentions of moving to another area, produced a strong and highly significant relationship. Only 20% of those in S.S.T.1 indicated that they had a desire to move, whereas 92% of households in S.S.T.4 expressed such an intention. In the 'Extreme 25s' sample, only 4% of S.S.T.1 wanted to move, as against 100% of S.S.T.4. Obviously if an individual (or a household) does not like the area in which he or she is living, then the only ultimate solution is to move to another area. Alternatively the process may occur in the other direction, that is if a person has an expectation of moving then they may actively dissuade themselves from building up any feelings of attachment to their present area. However the relationship develops it is obvious that it is very strong, and in this survey at least, very easy to demonstrate.

7.6 *Final Description of the Socio Spatial Typology*

Socio-Spatial Type 1

The typical individual represented by S.S.T.1 has a high attitudinal attachment to his local area, and displays a high use of the facilities and services available within that area. Compared to the 'average' respondent in this survey, he is most obviously characterised by:-

Having relatives living nearby

Having friends living nearby

Living longer at his present address

Being an owner-occupier

Living in a semi-detached house

Not being dissatisfied with local facilities and services

Being older

Having older children living at home

Wanting a high level of social interaction with neighbours

Judging his present area to be better than his previous area

Not having a desire to move

Not using amenities and facilities outside his local area

Not visiting friends or relatives outside his local area

Having a previous address in the same district

Not maintaining connections with previous area of residence

This individual is obviously 'at ease' and well integrated within his own local environment. He identifies with his home area and a high proportion of his material and social needs are met from within that area. He is not threatened by his neighbours or worried by the level and range of facilities locally available. The traits listed above probably reflect the confidence that has slowly developed through living in one place for a long time, and feeling that you know everyone and everything there is to know about your local area.

He is also possibly more independent and affluent than average, and capable of 'shaping his own future' within an urban society, particularly perhaps, within an urban housing market. However, characteristics of being older and having lived longer in the area, tend to militate against the notion of individuals in S.S.T. 1 being more affluent. Many elderly people are represented within this category, and they are mostly not well off, do not own a car, and may well be dependent upon various welfare

services. However, they certainly identify with their local area and are concerned about local issues, and like the younger individuals within this category they have many local contacts. A higher proportion of households from S.S.T. 1 have friends and relatives living within 10 minutes walk. Also, those with relatives nearby, have on average more families within easy walking distance than any of the other three S.S.T.s. They display many of the elements of the closely-knit working class community described by the sociologists in the 1950s and 1960s, especially the Bethnal Green described by Young and Willmott.[12]

An area characterised by households from S.S.T.1 would certainly be said to have a strong community spirit, and would be unlikely to display severe social or economic problems. It is no surprise therefore that the sub-area with the highest proportion of respondents falling into S.S.T.1 (69%) was Area 1 - the area characterised by owner-occupiers.

People contained within S.S.T. 1 are the type of individuals and households that planners and architects can most successfully design areas and facilities for. These households use those areas and facilities in the way that the planners expect. They would no doubt show concern for street safety as Jane Jacobs urged 20 years ago.[13] They are also the antithesis of the urban man that Louis Wirth[14] described in the 1930s; their social relationships are not characterised by formality, anonymity and indifference. These individuals manage to establish and maintain the traits of a closely-knit community, without living in a rural village or within a distinct urban village, but simply within an undifferentiated residential district of a large city.

They represent an established community and a settled area, and in this sense are equivalent to the inhabitants of Winston Parva zones I and II of Elias and Scotson.[15] In simple terms they represent stability, immobility and order, and are central to the concept of community and to almost all ideas of what a successful urban neighbourhood should be like.

Socio-Spatial Type 2

Individuals classified into S.S.T. 2 have a high attitudinal attachment to their local area, but use local facilities very little. Compared to the 'average' many of their traits are similar to S.S.T. 1, but less extreme:-

Having relatives living nearby

Having friends living nearby

Having local origins

Living longer at their present address

Not wanting to move

Regarding present area as better than previous area of residence

Not being dissatisfied with local facilities.

However they are also characterised by:-

Having more connections with their previous area

Not living in a shared dwelling

Moving to present address through marriage or the desire to buy their own home

Owning more cars

Having less children

Not wanting a high level of social interaction with neighbours

Having a tightly-knit family network.

It may be postulated that S.S.T. 2 is a muted verson of S.S.T. 1. Indeed, given that households in this category are younger, have not lived as long at their present address, have younger children and so on, it might be suggested that they are a transitional version of S.S.T. 1, which, given another 10 years or so, will develop into the real thing. Certainly, they are more likely to be young families, living in their first family home with children under 5. They bear strong similarities to S.S.T. 1 (and are different from the other categories) in having many relatives and friends living nearby, and not having a desire to move. It is also important to appreciate that although they use facilities away from their local area, this does not represent a rejection or dislike of their local area.

From the pilot study it was expected that respondents in S.S.T. 2 would have far fewer children, many more cars, and a loosely-knit family network, giving them a greater independence and mobility than the average household. However the results of the Manchester survey show that although on average they have fewer children and more cars, they are very close to the overall mean for both variables. They also have the least loosely-knit family network, although again it is not far from the overall average. Their circle of friends appears to be closely-knit, but non-local.

However, in general terms they are similar to the Bentilee sample in that they appear to represent a 'privatised' life style. They only eat and sleep in their local area, but make most use of living in a big city by using the resources of the entire city not just the facilities

available in their own neighbourhood. In this sense they may not be a transitional form of S.S.T. 1, but may represent a newer and more modern adaptation to living in an urban area. In this sense they are similar to the households with joint conjugal roles and 'loose-knit' networks identified by Bott.[16] She argued that such families were adapting to a more physically and socially mobile society, and she discerned an overall trend towards this type of household in modern Britain. They are more mobile and less settled than households in S.S.T. 1, but apparently just as contented to live in their present area.

They are perhaps the sort of families who would fit in well on a private housing development in an urban fringe location with sparse local facilities available. In this respect, they can be planned for,[17] although the natural assumption always seems to be that eventually the neighbourhood they live in will become more established, and they will develop the traits of S.S.T. 1. They appear to be more like the upper-class elite of Banbury,[18] or the affluent workers of Luton,[19] than the traditional working class of Bethnal Green or Swansea.[20]

Socio-Spatial Type 3

Respondents falling within S.S.T. 3 have a low attitudinal attachment to their local area, but exhibit a relatively high level of use of local resources. Similar to S.S.T. 2, they may represent a less dramatic reaction to living in a particular area, and some of their characteristics are similar to, but less severe than S.S.T. 4:-

Being dissatisfied with local facilities

Wanting to move

Being younger

Living in flats and shared dwellings

Not having friends living nearby

Not living as long at their present address

Judging their present area to be worse than their previous area of residence.

They are also characterised by:

Having fewer connections with their previous area

Having fewer cars

Having more children

Not having relatives living nearby

Not having a previous address in the same district

Being from Socio-Economic Groups IV and V

Renting from the local authority

Moving to their present address through slum clearance

Similar to the other low attitudinal attachment category, S.S.T. 4, this group have few roots in the area. They are less likely to have friends or relatives living nearby, and not one had moved to their present address from another dwelling in Withington. They consider that their present area is inferior to where they used to live, and have a strong desire to move. Like S.S.T. 4 they are dissatisfied with local facilities and yet they display a strong pattern of usage of such facilities. This apparent contradiction between attitudes and behaviour can be explained by their relative poverty and immobility. Of all the S.S.T.s, this group contains the highest proportion of S.E.G.s IV and V, has more renting from the local authority and has fewest cars. These respondents were also younger than average and had more children. It may be suggested

therefore that, burdened by the care of children, lacking cars and money, this group of interviewees had little choice in deciding what facilities to use. However, although they use local facilities and presumably 'get to know' the area, they have few roots there and do not develop strong ties of attachment. They see their future as living somewhere else.

Unlike the sample from the pilot study, respondents from S.S.T. 3 have only marginally more children, and do not have as few cars proportionately as S.S.T. 1; and clearly not all respondents are as poor or immobile as the ideal type explanation suggests. Presumably the fact that they have few connections with their previous area is important, as their area of origin could well be many miles away. This would certainly encourage use of local facilities as they would probably be fairly ignorant of other facilities available elsewhere in Southern Manchester. Also, inertia must presumably play an important role - people use local facilities simply because it is easier and more convenient - yet in their case, this interaction with their area does not lead to a high attitudinal attachment.

One might expect S.S.T. 3 to be a transitional group. Individuals would either develop local attachments over time, or else they would leave the area for somewhere they would like more. However, a relatively high proportion of this group were local authority tenants, who are inhibited from moving if they fail to qualify for a transfer to another municipal property. Indeed, many respondents who wished to transfer, were unlikely to be offered another property as they expressed no housing need, and therefore had no points - that is, their properties were in good repair,

possessed a full range of basic amenities, and the household was not overcrowded or sharing with another household. Indeed, several respondents had been living in their Council properties for 30 or 40 years, and yet still felt no affection for their local area; their hearts were still in the area that they had been moved from - Hulme. Several informants replied that they did not have a serious desire to move because they knew that such a move was impossible. It may be that all areas include certain individuals who feel trapped there, and who actively fight against identifying themselves with their local area. It is meaningless therefore to equate use of local facilities with identification with a neighbourhood.

Socio-Spatial Type 4

The typical respondent represented by S.S.T. 4 has a low attitudinal attachment to his local area, and a low use of services and facilities available within that area. Compared to the 'average' this individual is characterised by:-

Having a strong desire to move

Having few relatives living nearby

Having few friends living nearby

Being dissatisfied with local facilities

Considering present area as 'worse' than previous area

Having few connections with previous area

Using city-wide resources to satisfy social and material needs

Being younger

Being engaged in full-time education

Having fewer children

Not living long at present address

Renting furnished accommodation

Living in flats and shared dwellings

Not having local origins

Moving to present address due to change of job

Not wanting social interaction with neighbours

Not having friends who know one another.

There can be no doubt that this individual does not like living in his present area, 92% of respondents in S.S.T. 4 expressed a desire to move, and only 6% thought their previous area of residence to be better than where they were now living. They have few local connections either through friends or relatives, but retain many links with their previous area of residence and facilities and amenities across the entire city. On average they have not lived at their present address for a long time, they do not have local origins and generally want to avoid social interaction with neighbours. In short, they are in the area, but not of the area.

One group of traits describes what might be called a sub-group of S.S.T. 4 respondents. That is, students living in flats or sharing housing, without children, and linked to the student sub-culture with social venues stretched across most of Southern Manchester. These individuals know that they will probably only live in their present accommodation for a few years, until their courses finish, and are uninterested in developing ties with their local area. Most areas can easily accommodate such individuals, but there must be a 'tip-over point' when the proportion of students in an area has an adverse effect upon relationships and identification with that area. In sub-areas 3 and 4, students comprised c. 10% of households in the sample.

However, most respondents falling within S.S.T. 4 were not students, but still exhibited a dislike (in some cases a hatred) of their local area, and simply refused to allow themselves to become part of the place. From the interviews (from descriptions of previous area, etc.), it was apparent that those individuals who disliked their local area had done so since they first moved there; their dislike had not developed after some perceived deterioration of the neighbourhood. In other words, most respondents in S.S.T. 4 had failed to settle down in their new area, and had not changed their affections as a reaction to local changes. Furthermore, this failure to settle down seemed to be linked in many cases to being 'forced' to move from an area in which they were happy. Thus, it could not be argued that individuals in S.S.T. 4 were incapable of developing strong attachments to any area. Indeed it seems to be that the power of such feeling inhibited the development of similar sentiments to their new area of residence.

In some ways it is easier to understand the patterns of behaviour and attitudes of S.S.T. 4, compared to S.S.T. 2 or S.S.T. 3. However, such obvious resentment to an area must have some effect upon newcomers in a way in which the more complex and covert reactions of S.S.T.s 2 and 3 might not. Neighbourhoods characterised by respondents who fall into S.S.T. 4 would obviously not be regarded as desirable places to live.

7.7 *Effectiveness of the Socio-Spatial Typology*

The socio-spatial typology is based upon a complicated relationship between feelings and behaviour at individual household level. As a model therefore, it cuts across other more widely accepted schema of urban social divisions, such as social area analysis and housing classes. However, as a means of differentiating urban populations along social and behavioural dimensions, it is just as valid as other methods. The socio-spatial type concept can therefore be used to complement these other more conventional schema.

The differences between the S.S.T.s in the analyses presented in this chapter, have been muted because the whole sample was classified. The reason for this is that for analytical purposes, the ideal types have been stretched back to include neutral stances on attitudinal attachment and use of facilities. Considering this, those relationships that are apparent at 'Full Sample' level must be of some considerable importance in highlighting differences betweeen the S.S.T.s. In most cases, the tendencies apparent at 'Full Sample' level are magnified in the more refined samples for 'Above Average' and 'Extreme 25s' households.

The socio-spatial typology is based upon ideal types. It is designed to explore patterns of life styles, and is not directed primarily at offering statistical proof or refutation of particular hypotheses. It was developed to assist our understanding of 'how' people live in an area, and what the relationship is between their aspirations and expectations, and their physical interaction with local resources and facilities.

The typology is based upon six variables. It would have been possible to base the typology on many more variables; but the relationships revealed were often complex and interlocking, and such multi-variate techniques may well have confused matters by creating large areas of overlap between the various socio-spatial types. In other words, such techniques may have offered more rigorous statistical explorations, but clouded the clarity of the ideal types.

The socio-spatial typology summarises the 'affective' and 'utilitarian' aspects of relationships between individuals and their local areas. Its use lies in an appreciation of the different social composition of each type, rather than in the refinement of the life-styles they represent.

It is always difficult to assess the interplay of social and behavioural factors in determining the social cohesion - or lack of it - in an area. No single model can take into account all the variables involved. However, this typology does at least represent a well-considered attempt to untangle the various elements, and to offer an explanation of the relationship between attitudes and behaviour at the neighbourhood level. For example S.S.T. 2 households, who accounted for almost 20% of the full sample, quite clearly expect very little from their neighbourhood, apart from being the setting where their house is located and where they therefore eat and sleep. Whilst not being antagonistic towards their local area, they choose basically to ignore it and let it impinge upon their lives as little as possible.

Although this study is not the first to recognise such a life style, it is innovative in that through the socio-spatial typology it is able to:-

i. offer details of attitudinal attachment and use of local services and facilities;

ii. suggest explanations at to why such patterns of social and behavioural characteristics should have developed;

iii. compare one pattern of feelings, motivations and behaviour with other patterns, that is, with the other three socio-spatial types;

iv. introduce an element of scale by revealing the proportion of households that fall within each of the socio-spatial types - for example, it has not been suggested previously that as many as 1 in 5 households may exhibit a 'self-contained' life style similar to that of S.S.T. 2;

v. offer an estimate of the proportions of households falling into the four S.S.T.s within an area, and therefore to provide a basis for a discriminatory analysis of local areas.

To amplify the final point it may be noted that the relative distributions of the S.S.T.s between the four sample sub-areas were as follows:-

Table 7.16

(All figures in percentages)

	Socio-Spatial Types			
	1	2	3	4
AREA 1 (Owner-occupiers)	69	17	8	6
AREA 2 (Local authority)	57	10	17	16
AREA 3 (Flat dwellers)	49	16	12	23
AREA 4 (Traditional working class)	37	32	10	21
	54	18	12	16

S.S.T. 1 is the largest category with over 50% of the full sample, and is the commonest type in all four sub-areas. In social planning terms the S.S.T. 1 respondents lead a relatively orderly, predictable life style; being well integrated with their physical and social environment. As such they can be planned for - their needs can be assessed and their probable behaviour evaluated. Also, in that planning on the large scale can only take into account average households, S.S.T. 1 respondents are in the majority and therefore have a further claim to influence planning policies. In this sense, the other three S.S.T.s can be viewed as disorderly, unpredictable, deviant and transitory, and thus their planning needs are far harder to assess.

The distribution of S.S.T. 1 households between the four sub-areas reflects the relative stability of the four areas - the area of owner-occupiers being the most established, and the traditional working class area the most disorganised. The latter area also contains the highest proportion (42% compared to 25%, 27% and 28%) of households classified into the two more complex and ambiguous types, S.S.T.s 2 and 3. This is interesting in that this area was undergoing rapid physical change (via a G.I.A. programme) and considerable social change (via an influx of students and Asian families), and many residents did appear to be rather ambivalent about their feelings towards the neighbourhood. The general attitude seemed to be that they would have to wait a couple of years to see what the area turned out like.

Similarly, the local authority area included the highest proportion of S.S.T. 3 households, those whose life styles are dominated by relative poverty and immobility. The flat dwellers area, which was also the area with the youngest population, contained the highest proportion of S.S.T. 4 households, those who could be said to be 'in the area but not of the area'.

It could be argued that the socio-spatial typology is a derived and somewhat artificial measure. However, the relative proportions of each type of household appear to give a reasonable indication of the 'tone of the neighbourhood' or the prevailing opinions about the area held by the residents. It shows that it is dangerous to pick up simple variables (such as 'use of shopping centre') as yardsticks for judging how satisfied people are with their local area.

The typology developed by this study may be seen as one of several techniques for studying the spatial impact of the social characteristics of urban populations. It can be used to complement these other techniques in that it can offer a fuller understanding of the micro-social processes in operation within local urban areas, and can also help to examine the issue of what role 'neighbourhood' is likely to play in modern urban life. The implications of the socio-spatial typology approach to studying neighbourhoods and communities are discussed in the concluding chapter.

NOTES AND REFERENCES - CHAPTER 7

1. Keller, S. (1968) op. cit. (Ch. 3-98); also mentioned in Chapter 3.7.
2. Kuper, L. (1953) op. cit. (Ch. 2-19) p. 122.
3. Ibid. p. 123.
4. The results for the first three tables are presented in absolute frequencies, with row percentages indicated in brackets.
5. Chi-squared significance is given in brackets at the foot of each column. NB this figure relates to a full cross-tabulation of one variable against another, but only part of each table is presented here - that is, the 'positive' components of the attachment questions.
6. Some of the overall percentages of respondents "with a home area", etc. are slightly different for some variables, according to the number of missing observations (that is, non-responses) for each dependent variable.
7. Kuper, L. (1953) op. cit. (Ch. 2-19).
8. Young, M. & Willmott, P. (1962) op. cit. (Ch. 2-38).
9. This question is taken from the interview schedule and was put to respondents verbally by the author; unlike the other two questions on 'use of facilities' and the three on 'attitudinal attachment' which were answered by the respondents themselves on the postal questionnaire.
10. The question on local or non-local use of facilities in fact involved four separate questions put to each respondent.
11. Community Attitudes Survey (1969) op. cit. (Ch. 4-6).
12. Young, M. & Willmott, P. (1962) op. cit. (Ch. 2-38).
13. Jacobs, J. (1961) op. cit. (Ch. 3-19).
14. Wirth, L. (1938) op. cit. (Ch. 1-41).
15. Elias, H. & Scotson, J.L. (1965) op. cit. (Ch. 2-40).
16. Bott, E. (1957) op. cit. (Ch. 2-55)
17. For example, by the provision of hypermarkets on the fringes of large urban areas.

18. Stacey, M. (1960) op. cit. (Ch. 2-48).

19. Goldthorpe, J.H. et al (1969) op. cit. (Ch. 2-54).

20. Rosser, C. & Harris, C. (1965) op. cit. (Ch. 2-45).

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS AND EVALUATION OF THE PROJECT

In this concluding chapter an attempt will be made to integrate the conceptual considerations of the early part of the study with the empirical analysis of the main survey. The socio-spatial typology will be assessed in terms of how it may aid our understanding of the way in which people relate to physical and social aspects of their urban environment, and several implications of the typology will be discussed.

8.1 *Re-examination of the Concepts of Community and Neighbourhood*

Several authors have commented upon the lack of conceptual clarity concerning community and neighbourhood, and have offered reasons for the existence of such ambiguity. Hillery[1] scrutinised 94 separate definitions of 'community' and found little consensus between them. He demonstrated that individual authors or researchers adopted a 'working definition' for their own purposes, and that it was fruitless trying to identify a single definition that would suit everyone's purposes. This conclusion was also reached by Bell and Newby[2] following their comprehensive critique of community studies. Dennis[3] also recognised the looseness of the term community, and offered several different meanings. He suggested that housing estates void of local facilities were really 'non-communities', as residence alone was not enough to

create the degree and quality of social interaction necessary to produce a 'community'. Blowers[4] noted that the term 'community' had three separate and distinct connotations - social interaction, a geographical area and a sense of identity.

Three reasons for confusion surrounding the term 'neighbourhood' were offered by Keller[5]. She recognised that many studies failed to distinguish between the role of neighbour, the set of social activities referred to as neighbouring, and the area in which these activities take place, the neighbourhood. This ambiguity had been compounded by researchers making unrealistic assumptions and coming up with contradictory evidence, and by the process of rapid social change which had upset the traditional balance between neighbours, neighbouring and neighbourhoods. Keller realised that it was futile to attempt to investigate the 'existence of neighbourhoods' by identifying distinct, non-overlapping, physical areas, because a city offers an opportunity for diversity and a chance to undertake activities over a wide area. Her suggestion of three alternative methods of studying neighbourhoods - the 'cognitive' (how people themselves identify an area), the 'utilitarian' (how they use the facilities in an area), and the 'affective' (how they feel about an area) - was one of the starting points of this present study.

Aside from theoretical considerations of the obscurity surrounding the terms neighbourhood and community, other authors, notably Simmie[6] have argued that where official recognition has been made of the needs of small areas, it has only been done as an administrative convenience. To appreciate this point it will be useful to assess the ways in which government departments and agencies need to identify relatively small

urban areas. Administrative requirements lead to the construction of three different types of small areas within large cities or towns:-

1. Political constituencies

In any area there is a hierarchy of political constituencies or voting areas which elect representatives to sit on (in descending order of size of constituency), the European Parliament, the Westminster Parliament, and County and District Councils. The District Council constituency areas are called Wards, and in most British cities they form the major sub-division of local authority areas. Each Ward elects one, or more, councillors to represent the area on the local councils. In order to make this representation process fair, the Wards are constructed so as to have roughly equal electorates[7]. For purposes of organising an election, each Ward is usually further divided into a number of Polling Districts. Apart from determining which Polling Station an individual has to attend for national and local elections, Polling Districts do not impinge upon the lives of city residents. Like the smallest national census areas, the Enumeration Districts, they are arbitrary, and most people are totally unaware of their existence. There is obviously no sense of identity to Polling Districts or Enumerations Districts, and for this reason it would be ridiculous to refer to them as communities or neighbourhoods.

Similarly, Wards as political units affect residents' lives very little, and although their existence is more well known, it is difficult to imagine that many people could relate to or identify with the areas covered by Wards,,except perhaps at the time of local elections when particular issues may help to focus people's attention on the significance of their Ward.

2. Catchment Areas

The catchment areas of certain institutions, such as schools or hospitals, can be a major concern to city dwellers. An individual may feel that he will get a better service from a particular school or hospital, but is prevented from attending that facility because his home is in an adjoining catchment area.

Primary schools usually have small, non-overlapping catchment areas,[8] whereas secondary schools have much larger catchment areas, allowing for an element of parental choice within a Local Government district. Hospitals have different sized catchment areas for different medical services. For example, a maternity hospital may have a relatively small area, but a neurological unit will be a regional centre with a very large catchment area. However, all large cities are divided into a number of Area Health Authorities and each has at least one general hospital. An individual normally can only attend a general hospital within his own Area Health Authority.

Health districts are usually based upon Wards, but school districts are based upon the distribution of the child population. It is unlikely that many citizens would know the full catchment area of a particular facility, and it is also unlikely therefore that he would feel any sense of belonging to such an area.

3. Service Areas

Many local and national government services have to be organised on an areal basis, because the whole city is too large a unit for them to cope with. Thus, Social Services Departments, Housing Departments,

Planning Departments, Urban Renewal Divisions, Environmental Departments, Libraries, Police, Department of Health and Social Security and Department of Employment, are all likely to sub-divide cities into their own administrative areas. The boundaries of these areas tend to be non-coterminous, because they are drawn up to meet different needs. For example, Housing Department areas reflect the location of council estates; Urban Renewal areas are based upon the distribution of pre-1919 properties; and Social Services areas may simply mirror the overall distribution of population, or may take account of the location patterns of deprived or poor families.

As these services usually spend considerable resources upon ensuring that each area is given an equal service, it is usually of little relevance to an individual citizen as to which area he lives in. It will determine which 'local office' he may have to attend, but is unlikely to engender any feelings of attachment.

With the exception of GIAs, HAAs and possibly Local Plan areas, none of the areas delineated by government departments is small enough to be termed a neighbourhood or likely to cultivate any sense of belonging.[8] In order to ensure that all areas, and therefore all individuals, have similar access to resources, facilities have to be planned and developed on an areal basis. Organisations have to 'break up' the city, to make certain that they are delivering their services in a fair and just manner. Residents of a city do not have to go through this process of sub-dividing an entire urban area. They may recognise and identify with a local area or a neighbourhood, which might be quite large or very small. However, its relationship to local government areas is usually irrelevant and the existence of other

neighbourhoods within the city is superfluous.

Some facilities, such as libraries, parks and swimming baths, are replicated many times throughout a city, and an individual is not bound to use his local or nearest service centre. In this way, resources are'planned' on a small area basis, but used on a city-wide basis. This observation was recognised by Isaacs who suggested that "city people are not stuck with the provincialism of a neighbourhood .....Isn't wide choice and rich opportunity the point of cities?"[9]

Somehow the 'cognitive' or 'affective' areas of individual citizens have become confused with the service areas of governmental agencies, and this has further compounded the ambiguous value of the terms community and neighbourhood.

The planning of services is based upon a'co-operative' model of society and is primarily concerned with the 'problem of order'. This model has to predict the behaviour of individuals towards various resources, otherwise it would be useless to plan those resources. By adopting an action frame of reference and considering individual aspirations and motivations, the socio-spatial typology is perhaps able to achieve a better prediction of city dwellers' behaviour.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the Town Planning movement in Britain has demonstrated a distrust of cities, and the earliest legislation had strong moral overtones. It was implied that through town planning, middle class virtues would 'rub-off' onto the working classes within a patchwork of urban villages across the city. A parallel process

occurred in America which was based upon what Gans [10] referred to as a 'facility-centred theory of social change' - if people were given better facilities, they would change themselves for the better in the process.

Such overt social manipulation has now disappeared but there is still a notion that plans can be based on social divisions of physical areas. This perhaps stems from the work of the Chicago School on 'natural area', and the more complex statistical techniques that have identified 'social areas'. Once identified and differentiated from each other, these small areas were assumed to be uniform and homogeneous. The 'natural area' or 'social area' tags are really only summary statements of many social groupings, but as Suttles[11] noted, they assumed a great importance and much of the detail (often being statistically summarised) was forgotten.

Planning tools have often reflected the two themes of treating small urban areas as uniform, and trying to 'solve' social problems. For example, Perry[12] clearly saw the neighbourhood unit as a channel through which municipal authorities could strengthen the social bonds of city dwellers. This study demonstrates that for some individuals (S.S.T. 1) the desired result may be achieved, but for others (S.S.T.s 2, 3 and 4), the effects of planning policies may make them even more antagonistic towards their local areas. Some people will not behave as expected. For example, households within S.S.T.s 2 and 4 may not use a new local shopping centre, but may still prefer to do their shopping near their employment or in another area which they retain an attachment towards; S.S.T. 3 families may use a new local facility but without any attendant growth in feeling a sense of belonging to their local area.

It is quite legitimate for planners to set targets for the provision of a facility (for example, one major park per 100,000 population), but it is misleading to infer any strength of local attachment from the use (or non-use) of that facility. The socio-spatial typology offers a more realistic appraisal of the complex inter-relationships of feelings of attachment, aspirations, motivations and behaviour. It does not treat populations as uniform, or disregard 'deviant' patterns of behaviour. It is not sufficiently developed to offer any coherent alternative planning model, but it may aid the understanding of situations (or 'configurations' as Elias and Scotson[13] call them) of particular small urban areas. It at least recognises the Marxian tenet that social appearance is not always social reality.

3.2 *Methodology and Assessment of the Study*

Considering the aims and resources available to this study it was decided that the 'affective' and 'utilitarian' aspects of neighbourhood life should be concentrated upon. In order to elicit information of a suitable quality and detail, an upper limit of about 300 household interviews had to be built into the design of the project. It was hoped that by focussing upon individual households, an action frame of reference could be adopted and a solely functionalist description of an area (or areas) would be avoided.

By adopting a behavioural rather than an ecological approach, this study attempted to avoid the conventional geographical stance of studying 'areas' and of missing certain micro socio-behavioural processes in operation within these areas.

The conceptual and methodological background to the study draws most from the work of Kuper[14] and Keller[15]. An attempt was made to avoid inferring that areas were 'communities' or 'neighbourhoods' by selecting purely arbitrary areas (census enumeration districts) as the spatial units for sampling and surveying. Evaluation of work on community studies (particularly Stacey[16] and Bell and Newby[17]) led to the conclusion that it would be fruitless to attempt to define community, or identify 'community spirit'. Care has been taken to avoid suggesting what 'ought to be' in any area, that is making any judgement that one particular life style (or socio-spatial type) is in any way 'better' than any other. For these reasons, the value-laden terms community and neighbourhood are generally avoided in the presentation of the results of the main survey - the expression 'local area' is most commonly used as an alternative.

The socio-spatial typology was developed from interviews with a relatively small number of households (328). Like the work of Kuper[18] who interviewed 87 households, and Bott[19] who worked with just 20 families, this project does not claim to have produced results of great statistical importance. Rather, by the form of analysis and the generation of ideal types, it hopes to offer a better understanding of how 'ordinary' people live in a 'typical' urban environment.

It has been recognised that statistical techniques tend to make small areas "fictitiously homogeneous" (Hatt[20]) by grouping and aggregation; and that they regard the central problem as taxonomic rather than phenomenological (Hamnett[21]). By treating respondents as individual households rather than groups, this study seeks to understand the patterns of behaviour and local attachments that they display.

Hamnett suggests that derived variables, such as clusters or factors "do not have an existence outside the data they summarise."[22] The socio-spatial types are 'derived' and summarise various attitudes and observed behaviour. If replicated in another study, no doubt the statistical relationships between the variables investigated would be different. However, the types do have an existence outside this study since they are based upon ideal types. The pure forms that they represent may not be found within any particular study, but similar tendencies would always be apparent.

Certain criteria were laid down for the suitable characteristics of the four sample sub-areas. The results presented in Chapter 6 demonstrate that these criteria were met reasonably well. The most important finding of this study is that it is possible to identify four small urban areas, whose populations have blatantly different social characteristics, and yet strong similarities can be discerned in the ways in which individuals in all four areas react to living there.

Individuals with widely differing social characteristics, living in different parts of a city, can be seen to adopt patterns of behaviour and feelings of attachment that are identical in nature. This means that these fundamental patterns must be relatively independent of the areas themselves and of principal social indicators. The intricate relationships outlined by this study are therefore likely to be present in any large urban area.

It may be noted that much more data was available, both from the interview survey of the four sub-areas around Withington, and from the Manchester S.I.S. study. However as this information did not significantly contribute to the arguments presented in this study, it was decided not to include these results within the thesis. This was done principally to simplify and abbreviate the discussion of areal social differentiation.

8.3 *Relationship of Socio-Spatial Typology to Other Concepts*

An important feature of many of the early sociological constructs used to study urban society was that they were based on dichotomies or continua. The mechanical solidarity - organic solidarity dichotomy of Durkheim , the traditional authority - rational legal authority of Weber, and the 'gemeinschaft - gesellschaft' concept of Tonnies, are all reflected in Wirth's[23] rural-urban continuum. Within this study a similar dichotomy would be between S.S.T. 1 and S.S.T. 4. It is interesting to note that S.S.T. 1 displayed the social characteristics ascribed by Wirth to the 'rural' end of his continuum. It is not surprising therefore to consider that planners have tried to achieve these desired social characteristics by introducing rural physical features (trees, grass, 'villages', etc.) into urban surroundings.

As was hinted in Chapter 7, it is possible to imagine S.S.T. 1 and S.S.T. 4 as ends of a continuum, but it is also feasible to treat S.S.T. 2 and S.S.T. 3 as identifiable life styles in their own right, and not as points along a continuum.

Marx's concept of alienation could be applied to S.S.T. 4, where individuals appear to be at odds with the 'values' of their neighbours. However, households in S.S.T. 3 could be said to display more of the characteristics associated with anomie than alienation. They are more dependent upon their local area than S.S.T. 4 and their behaviour reflects a certain ambiguity of values connected with a state of normlessness.

The socio-spatial typology discriminates between individual households very effectively for certain social variables - age, length of residence, relatives and friends living nearby, total dissatisfactions with local facilities, total connections with and comparison with previous area of residence, and desire to move. From this information, it is possible to link the typology to more generalised life styles.

S.S.T. 1 can most easily be linked to familism, and particularly to households towards the middle and the end of the family life cycle. Household members are relatively old and have usually lived in the area for a long time. The family has established roots in the locality, reinforced by local networks of friends and relatives. They are generally satisfied with their area and do not want to move.

In the same terms, S.S.T. 3 can be seen as representative of families in the earlier stages of the family life cycle. They have young children and are poorer and less mobile than families in S.S.T. 1. They have not lived in their local area for very long, and have not yet developed local patterns of friendship and kinship.

Households represented by S.S.T.2 however, are more characteristic of life styles variously described as urbanism, cosmopolitanism, consumerism or careerism. They tend to be younger and childless, and to be more affluent than average. They are more mobile and use facilities and resources across the whole city. They are nevertheless quite satisfied with their local area and have no strong desire to move.

S.S.T. 4 households can be regarded as deviants either from familism or cosmopolitanism. They may view their local area as an unsuitable place in which to bring up their children, or as an area which simply fails to provide the local social and recreational facilities that they require.

Households within S.S.T.2 clearly have much lower expectations of their local area that those in S.S.T. 4, and consequently are much more easily satisfied. S.S.T. 4 households expect a great deal from their local areas, both in terms of facilities and services, and of friendship and emotional support from neighbours. They believe that, ultimately, the only way to solve their problems is to move to another area which satisfies their expectations and desires.

Significantly, the typology cuts across other classifications of lifestyle and economic situation. For example, housing tenure,'reason for moving' and dwelling type did not reveal clear differences between the four S.S.T.s. This indicates that the typology must be measuring a different pattern of social and economic activity from Rex's[24] housing classes. The fact that all housing tenures and all dwelling types are represented in all four S.S.T.s is significant in that it

shows that reactions to living in an area are not determined primarily by type of property or how it is paid for. Thus the socio-spatial typology could be used to complement the concept of housing classes.

Certain community studies have demonstrated that length of residence[25] and presence of extended family[26] are crucial in determining an individual's attachment to their local area. Once again, S.S.T. 1 households can most easily be identified with those characteristics, and do indeed display the strongest sense of belonging.

Bell and Newby suggested that traditional notions of community can be covered by the label "locality-bound, close-knit networks"[27]. This description most closely fits S.S.T. 1, and would appear to lend support to the idea that households in S.S.T. 1 represent the planning ideal of what a community ought to be like.

The revelation that S.S.T.s 2, 3 and 4 also exist and are numerically almost as common as S.S.T. 1, illustrates the gap between 'normative planning theory' and 'reality'.

The socio-spatial typology attempts to combine elements of all the concepts and approaches mentioned above. By studying the relationship between attachment to local area (the 'affective') and use of local facilities (the 'utilitarian'), the typology is able to summarise several important variables, at the expense of losing some of the detail of other explanations of spatial manifestations of life styles. The typology is also essentially city-based in that it was designed to accommodate diverse patterns of social interaction and behaviour

outside local areas or neighbourhoods. Any "patch of urban fabric"[28] has links to adjoining areas in a manner in which a rural village could not be linked to its immediate surroundings. Considering the links between the socio-spatial typology and other concepts such as familism and 'housing class', it may be useful to offer 'titles' for the four socio-spatial types so as to make their relationships with other schema more apparent. The 'titles' suggested are

S.S.T. 1 'The Well-rooted'

S.S.T. 2 'The Self-contained'

S.S.T. 3 'The Trapped'

S.S.T. 4 'The Dissaffected'

The 'Well-rooted' households (S.S.T. 1) represent the stable and established elements of any community; their life style is centred upon the family; and their response to their immediate environment could be described as 'traditional' or as maintaining the 'status quo'.

The 'Self-contained' households (S.S.T. 2) symbolise the younger, more mobile and more dynamic components of society; their life style is dominated by 'cosmopolitanism'or 'consumerism'; they are more independent and look to the whole city, rather than their own neighbourhood, to satisfy their economic, social and recreational needs.

The 'Trapped' households (S.S.T. 3) clearly expect their needs to be satisfied within their local area, but these needs are unfulfilled and they do not develop an attachment to their neighbourhood; they are 'trapped' in their area by their poverty and relative immobility; their life style is dominated by familism and they may represent a potential 'Well-rooted' household if they develop a local identification over time.

The 'Dissafected' households (S.S.T. 4) represent the most unestablished and transient elements of a community; they have no local roots and are thoroughly uncommitted to their local area; whatever stage of the family life-cycle they are in, they are clearly alienated from their surrounding community and can only increase any feelings of local attachment by moving to another area.

8.4 *Applications of the Socio-Spatial Typology*

The results of the main survey appear to indicate that those individuals who exhibit a low attitudinal attachment to their areas (the Trapped and the Disaffected) had in fact never really settled down within their areas. There was little evidence to suggest that they had previously had a high regard for their local area which had disappeared following a perceived deterioration in their neighbourhood. The implication of this is that some people might value some assistance in settling down in a new area of residence. This could be achieved through the intervention of local voluntary organisations or residents groups. It was noted by Bracey[29] that there were more institutions in the USA than Britain which helped make newcomers feel at home. Similarly, planners were chided by Jacobs[30] for failing to confront the question of how new residential areas can be nurtured into the types of places that people liked to live in.

It seems obvious that such social goals can only effectively be pursued through social policies directed at people, rather than through plans directed at areas or buildings. One concomitant of this belief is that it is useless to attempt to assess social characteristics by physical

yardsticks, such as use of a shopping centre or a playground. Use of the socio-spatial typology may be a more meaningful measure of the success of social policies in a particular area.

Although only a crude measure, and accepting that the ideal types were stretched by classifying all respondents, a breakdown of the numbers of S.S.T.s in any small area does offer an overall impression of the life styles of individuals who live within that area. For example, the percentage breakdowns of S.S.T.s in Area 1 (Owner-occupiers) and Area 4 (Traditional working class) were as follows:-

	AREA 1	AREA 4
The Well-rooted (S.S.T. 1)	69%	37%
The Self-contained (S.S.T. 2)	17%	32%
The Trapped (S.S.T. 3)	8%	10%
The Disaffected (S.S.T. 4)	6%	21%

This technique may be appropriate for studying the effect of policies in GIAs and HAAs, where detailed assessments of local needs have brought planners and architects into much closer contact with members of the public. As with new residential areas, it could be postulated that improvement areas are more likely to be characterised by S.S.T.s 2, 3 and 4, than by S.S.T. 1. This is particularly unfortunate since it could be argued that GIAs would stand a much better chance of success (in terms of take-up of grants, etc.) if they were predominantly comprised of Well-rooted (S.S.T. 1) households.

The effects of family life cycle changes upon housing needs are relatively easy to estimate. Deviations from this 'normal' pattern have usually been viewed with some alarm.[31] This technique at least

allows some estimation to be made of the proportion of households who do not, as yet, fit in with the assumed norm. In this way, it may be possible to avoid the mistake of planning for a common denominator.[32]

Whether the socio-spatial typology is viewed as a continuum, or whether the four types are regarded as discrete life styles, the question arises of how individual households may change from one type to another.

One obvious reason for change is when a household moves from one area to another. If a family moves from an area where they were established and settled, to a new area with which they had no previous ties, then it is possible that the household would shift from Well-rooted or Self-contained to Trapped or Disaffected. This is particularly true if their move was 'forced' (for example, through slum clearance), and their sense of belonging to the old area was very great. One may postulate that over time, the family would become established and settle down in their new area,[33] and revert back to the Well-rooted (S.S.T. 1). This is no doubt the case for some families, but evidence was found both in Stoke and Manchester, of respondents whose properties had been demolished up to 40 years earlier and who still regarded themselves as 'foreigners' in their new areas and had failed to develop any attachments to their new areas.

Most changes between S.S.T.s that can be logically expected (where no change of address is involved) are moves towards the Well-rooted (S.S.T.1). As people live longer in an area, they are more likely to display feelings of attachment and patterns of use of facilities akin to S.S.T. 1. This is perhaps another reason why, in planning terms, it seems necessary to assume harmony and stability.

However, large numbers of households do not fit this norm and will either:-

a) eventually become S.S.T. 1,

b) keep moving until they find an area in which they can settle and become S.S.T. 1,

c) stay in the same S.S.T. indefinitely.

It is this last possibility which crucially affects the likely success of future social planning policies.

8.5 *The Future of Community Planning*

Help from the state in the form of child benefits, unemployment benefits, home helps, local authority housing, etc., has clearly reduced the need for help and assistance from neighbours and relatives. This independence has had repercussions on what people expect from their local communities or neighbourhoods. This general increase in affluence and decrease in local dependence has been noted by several authors,[34] and led Bell and Newby[35] to suggest that modern communities are becoming less locality-bound. Although this present study was not directed at changes over time, there was no evidence to suggest that those households forming the Well-rooted (S.S.T. 1) are any less locality-bound than they may have been in the past. However, it is possible that the proportion of 'deviant' households (S.S.T.s 2, 3 and 4) is increasing, and the net effect is to make communities less locality-bound. With increasedaffluence and mobility there is likely to be a rise in the number of households falling into the Self-contained (S.S.T. 2) those who are 'attached' to their local area, but use facilities over a much wider area, these households may be an expression of modern trends upon local communities.

If this is the case, then, policies and plans based on harmony and co-operation and directed at (in the terms of this study) the Well-rooted (S.S.T. 1), are likely to be even less successful. The futility of trying to achieve social goals through physical plans has been noted by numerous authors. Kuper[36] recognised a community ideal in neighbourhood plans, and Broady[37] suggested that architectural determinism by itself was bad, it needed to be backed up by social administration. The confusion surrounding the whole topic of community planning was highlighted by Perraton[38] when she pointed out that it was difficult to know socially what you are trying to achieve with a plan.

This argument was developed further by Simmie who suggested that the idea of neighbourhood planning was fallacious since it was based upon an incorrect view of society. Simmie argued that planners assume the 'normal' state of society to be harmonious and stable. They adopt the 'fact' that society is co-operative, and accept the 'value' that it ought to be. The policies which then flow from this normative judgement are "concerned with creating economically and socially balanced and integrated communities."[39] Translated into the parlance of this study his argument could be restated as:- planners assume that only S.S.T. 1 households exist or that all households eventually want to become Well-rooted (S.S.T. 1). This means that they ignore the Self-contained, the Trapped and the Disaffected (S.S.T.s 2, 3 and 4) and base all their plans upon the harmony and stability typified by S.S.T. 1. It is useless for them to plan integrated communities or neighbourhoods when large numbers of households (S.S.T.s 2, 3 and 4) do not wish to become 'integrated' into their local community.

The increasingly partial nature of neighbourhoods and the differential involvement of people in their communities, was recognised by Janowitz[40] who developed the concept of a 'community of limited liability'. The socio-spatial typology can give an indication of how 'limited' any community is.

Suttles[41] developed Janowitz's work and has been drawn into the more political aspects of communities and representation of community interests. There are signs that neighbourhood planning in Britain is moving the same way. Following the Skeffington Report[42], planning authorities were given a statutory obligation to consult with the public before their plans were published. More recently, the 1980 Housing Act[43] incorporating the 'Tenants Charter' has placed an obligation upon housing authorities to consult with their tenants before altering their policies in any major way.

The government is obviously determined to discuss a whole range of social policies with local groups and organisations, before implementing them. The danger is that only the most vociferous elements of the community will be heard. The socio-spatial typology may elucidate the likely nature of feelings in any particular area. Aside from certain people being less dependent upon their immediate neighbours for help, some individuals positively resent any 'help' or interference from their neighbours in their own affairs. The views of these individuals are unlikely to be adequately represented by existing local associations.

This situation has been confirmed by work in improvement areas, where each household has been contacted to inform them of the plans for the

area. It is also within GIAs and HAAs where community planning has the best chance of successfully adjusting a local environment to the benefit of all its members. This is because improvement areas offer scope for 'positive' planning policies,[44] where conflicts can be recognised and possibly resolved - for example, when noise and air pollution are decreased, and traffic safety boosted, by the removal of non-conforming industries in residential improvement areas.

Alas, such refined policies are very expensive, and the present economic climate suggests that community facilities may become regarded as expensive luxury when compared to the necessities of employment and reasonable housing. With an increase in poverty it is possible that the proportion of households represented by the Trapped (S.S.T. 3) would grow, and that in general people would become more dependent upon local resources, but without developing strong local attachments.

The other alternative is that, following the growth of self-help groups and politically motivated local organisations, communities could react to adversity by becoming more close-knit and more locally-oriented.[45] Many governmental organisations, particularly social services and police, are trying to develop more local offices and give a more local service. Indeed this appears to be part of a more general tendency to recognise that social policies can only be directed towards people and the organisation of individuals into groups, and that such policies are not simply the by-products of physical plans. The further development of the socio-spatial typology may be an appropriate means of assessing the impact of such social policies upon small urban areas.

The socio-spatial typology is one of a number of techniques for studying small urban territorial communities, and should be assessed in terms of how much it complements these other schema. The complementary nature of these approaches was recognised by Herbert and Raine.[46] Indeed, Herbert pointed out that there are several

> "....aspects of geographical analyses of neighbourhood but many avenues of further research remain. It is likely that most of these will rest on fuller comprehension of social values and on detailed analyses of attitudes, behaviour and perceptions in a spatial context."[47]

This study has attempted to pursue such an approach by analysing attitudes and behaviour at the level of the individual household, rather than by aggregating to a neighbourhood or community level. In this way it is possible to elucidate the nature of certain facets of urban life which the 'macro-level' techniques cannot tackle. For example, Herbert has recognised that the

> "...information on levels of interaction within neighbourhoods does not confirm the high levels of local interaction usually associated with older working class areas, nor does it demonstrate a substantially higher non-locality based social interaction for the middle class area."[48]

He has suggested that for social geographers "the problem is to examine the extent to which neighbourhood is a referent in understanding attitudes and behaviour."[49] This study offers one approach to tackling such a problem. From the socio-spatial typology it seems apparent that social class or socio-economic group is not one of the principal determinants of local social interaction. Furthermore, neighbourhood,

or local urban area, is only likely to be of crucial importance to understanding the attitudes and behaviour of Well-rooted (S.S.T. 1) households. The Trapped (S.S.T. 3) and the Disaffected (S.S.T. 4) households clearly have certain expectations from their local area, which their present area of residence does not satisfy. That is, to them, neighbourhood is a negative feature in their lives. However, the Self-contained (S.S.T. 2) households have few expectations of their local area, and are apparently not concerned with the immediate environs around their house. To comprehend the spatial context of their attitudes and behaviour, one must view them as inhabitants of a city, rather than as members of a neighbourhood or local community.

Finally, it may be noted that architects and planners find it difficult to shed the notion of trying to achieve social goals through physical plans. To quote just one example:-

> "At Bath Mill in Lancaster, on a canalside site above the town already cleared by demolition, Building Design Partnership, acting for the North British Housing Association but working in close liaison with Lancaster D.C. planners have created houses of a design which aptly fills the gap in the urban fabric, arranged around a pattern of lanes, ginnels and courtyards that foster the residents' feelings of community and have the authentic feel of the town."[50]

What seems so strange is that the architect's job is substantively finished once the site is completed, and yet they feel confident to make assertions about the social character of the area before people are introduced into their plans. Certainly, some layouts may isolate

households rather than integrate them, but the management of the houses and the nature of other urban services will have a far bigger impact upon the 'feel' of the area than will its physical structure.

Perhaps more attention should be paid to leaving gaps of publicly-owned land within residential plans, which could later be used for features demanded by residents - such as community centres, play areas, off-street parking, church social clubs or sports clubs.[51] This would leave the local authority the flexibility to respond to the attitudes and behaviour of the population. If for example, the households were mainly Self-contained (S.S.T. 2), they would be relatively unconcerned with local facilities since they would use city-wide services. However, if there were large numbers of Trapped households (S.S.T. 3), then the addition of such local amenities may succeed in helping them to settle down into their new area, and lead to a strengthening of their locally-oriented attitudinal attachments.

Planners have long since recognised the importance of the social make-up of an area, to quote Cullingworth,

> "There is more than a growing suspicion that the quality of an area is related more to its socio-economic character (and changes in this) than to physical features."[52]

Perhaps approaches to the understanding of locally-based attitudes and behaviour such as the socio-spatial typology, may help planners to appreciate that it is not even a simple question of socio-economic character, but a more complex relationship between service provision, use of services and development of local attachments.

In turn this should lead to focussing attention away from the physical structure of an area towards the social management of the area, with, for example, corporate approaches to providing local services with locally-based officers. Although this study did not set out to make specific policy recommendations, such a review of local service provision is the main feature indicated by the analysis of neighbourhood attachment and patterns of behaviour.

8.6 *Final Assessment of Project*

The basic aims of this study were:-

1. To achieve a better understanding of the way in which 'ordinary' people live within a 'typical' urban environment.
2. To assess the practical implications of this knowledge upon the effectiveness of social planning in both new and existing urban residential areas.

The first aim has been pursued by the development of the socio-spatial typology. This involved the construction of four ideal types as a means to explaining and comprehending the reactions that people have to living in an area. In their pureform, the four types represent extremes along the 'affective' (attitudinal attachment to local area) and the 'utilitarian' (use of facilities and resources) dimensions.of analysis of neighbourhoods. This approach differs from the statistical multivariate techniques in that it does not seek statistically to explain

differences between samples or areas, and it is not concerned with the production of a taxonomy of non-overlapping small urban areas.

By postulating ideal types certain general relationships between attitudes and behaviour can be isolated and explained. However, the socio-spatial typology is also limited by this trait, in that it can only confidently offer explanations at the micro level of individual households, rather than the macro level of entire populations or areas. The clarity of the socio-spatial types was diluted in this study by classifying all respondent households into one of the four types. This weakness has to be offset against the clarity produced by the simplicity of the ideal types as a means of explaining spatial behaviour.

The second aim, that of assessing the implications of the socio-spatial typology upon social planning, has been limited by the lack of resources available to the study. Several areas have been considered, notably, using the socio-spatial typology as a yardstick for social planning policies, but the typology needs to be developed and refined before it could achieve such practical objectives.

The study has highlighted the futility of attempting an academic definition of 'community or 'neighbourhood'. The term 'local area' is offered as a substitute in line with the views of various authors.[53] The expressions community and neighbourhood will continue to be used as lay terms, with popular, value-laden meanings. It seems likely that the popular

meanings will take on a more political accent as local groups come together to express their views upon various social policies which affect their areas. The socio-spatial typology offers an opportunity for understanding the relationships of households that meet up to expected norms (the Well-rooted), to those whose behaviour has in the past been viewed as deviant and transitory. (the Self-contained, the Trapped, and the Disaffected).

NOTES AND REFERENCES - CHAPTER 8

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5. Keller, S. (1968) op. cit. (Ch. 3-98).
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7. Many Wards lose or gain considerable numbers of residents due to clearance programmes and new house building. When it becomes apparent that some Wards have much larger electorates than others, but with the same representation, the Ward boundaries have to be re-drawn and new Wards created.
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25. For example, Community Attitudes Survey (1969) op. cit. (Ch. 4-6).
Elias, N. & Scotson, J.L. (1965). op. cit. (Ch. 2 - 40).

26. For example, Young, M. & Willmott, P. (1962) op. cit. (Ch. 2-38).
Bott, E. (1957) op. cit. (Ch. 2-55).

27. Bell, C. & Newby, H. (1974) op. cit. (Ch. 1-50). in foreword.

28. Reimer, S. (1950) op. cit. (Ch. 3-103) p. 198.

29. Bracey, H.E. (1964). op. cit. (Ch. 2-51).

30. Jacobs, J. (1961). op. cit. (Ch. 3-19).

31. For example, the refusal until quite recently of most local authority housing departments to provide small dwelling units for single people below retirement age, or indeed for childless couples.

32. This expression is a description of planning policy used by Kuper, L. (1953) op. cit. (Ch. 2-19).

33. As Willmott suggested in his study of Dagenham. Willmott, P. (1963). op. cit. (Ch. 2-42).

34. For example, by Bott, E. (1957) op. cit. (Ch. 2-55)
Goldthorpe et al (1969) op. cit. (Ch. 2-54).

35. Bell, C. & Newby H. (1974). op. cit. (Ch. 1-50).

36. Kuper, L. (1953) op. cit. (Ch. 2-19).

37. Broady, M. (1969). op. cit. (Ch. 2-62).

38. Perraton, J.K. (1967). op. cit. (Ch. 2-63).

39. Simmie, J.M. (1974). op. cit. (Ch. 2-10). p. 14.

40. Janowitz, M. (1952). op. cit. (Ch. 3-41).

41. Suttles, G.D. (1972)op. cit. (Ch. 3-33).

42. The Skeffington Report (1969). 'People and Planning'.
Report of the Committee on Public Participation in Planning.
HMSO.

43. The Housing Act (1980). HMSO.

44. As opposed to 'negative' restrictive policies of refusing particular proposals for development.

45. Similar to the Watling community studied by Durant in the 1930s. Durant, R. (1939) op. cit. (Ch. 1-54).

46. Herbert, D.T. & Raine, J.W. (1976) op. cit. (Ch. 3-49).

47. Herbert, D.T. (1975) op. cit. (Ch. 3-50) p. 476.

48. Ibid. p. 471.

49. Ibid. p. 477.

50. Municipal Journal, Aug. 8th 1980. 'Construction File'. pp. 986-987.

51. This is certainly what many urban renewal policies have tried to achieve in areas of pre-1919 housing within GIAs and HAAs.

52. Cullingworth, J.B. (1973). 'Problems of an Urban Society', Vol. 2'. p. 83. George Allen & Unwin, London.

53. For example, by Stacey, M. (1969). op. cit. (Ch. 3-84).
Bell, C. & Newby, H. (1974) op. cit. (Ch. 1-50).
Simmie, J.M. (1974) op. cit. (Ch. 2-10).

APPENDIX 1

QUESTION FORM

Is there an area around here, where you are now living which you would say you belong to, and where you feel "at home"?

YES ☐
NO ☐

If Yes what do you call this area?

How long have you lived on the estate?

LESS THAN 3 YEARS ☐
3 TO 5 YEARS ☐
6 TO 10 YEARS ☐
OVER 10 YEARS ☐

Do you generally use the Bentilee shopping centre for your day-to-day shopping needs?

YES ☐
NO ☐

If not then where else do you shop?

HANLEY ☐
STOKE ☐
LONGTON ☐
OTHER ☐

How frequently do you go into the Harold Clowes Community Centre on the estate for any reason whatsoever?

WEEKLY ☐
MONTHLY ☐
OCCASIONALLY ☐
NEVER ☐

Are you registered with a doctor whose practice is NOT on the estate?

YES ☐
NO ☐

If Yes, what area is this practice in?

Do you find the estate a friendly place?

FRIENDLY ☐
MODERATE ☐
UNFRIENDLY ☐

Supposing you had to move away from Bentilee, how sorry or pleased would you be?

VERY SORRY TO LEAVE ☐
QUITE SORRY TO LEAVE ☐
NEITHER SORRY NOR PLEASED ☐
QUITE PLEASED TO LEAVE ☐
VERY PLEASED TO LEAVE ☐

Does your household own, or have access to, a motor car?

YES ☐
NO ☐

Any other comments?

APPENDIX 2 INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - BENTILEE

First I would like to ask you a few questions about the estate and the neighbourhood immediately around your house.

1. If you make use of any of the following facilities or institutions, could you please tell me whether you usually use the facilities available on the Bentilee estate, or whether you travel to use facilities elsewhere in the Potteries; and if so, then where?

	BENTILEE	ELSEWHERE
Churches		
Clubs		
Pubs		
Sports		

2. What do you think of the way that Bentilee has been planned and laid out?

3. Do you think that the following facilities on the estate are adequate?

	YES	NO
Shops		
Entertainments		
Schools		
Sports		
Employment		
Parks/Recrtn.		

4. Are there any specific improvements which you would like to see made in Bentilee?

And now, what I would like you to do is to compare your present neighbourhood (that is, Bentilee) with your previous neighbourhood through this following set of questions.

5. I know that you have lived in Bentilee for ..... years, but where did you live before living in Bentilee, and for how long?

	AREA	YEARS

6. Why did you move?

7. Do you still have any connection with your previous area through any of the following?

	YES	NO
Relatives		
Friends		
Church		
Entertainments		
Sports/Recrtn.		
Shopping		
Work		
Clubs/Assns.		

8. How does Bentilee compare with the area that you lived in before?

PROMPT - Is it more friendly?

Are there better facilities here such as shops, schools, bus services etc

9. And how do you think Bentilee compares with the rest of Stoke-on-Trent?

Next I would just like to fill in a few details of your family and their connections with Bentilee.

10. What is your marital status?

Married	
Single	
Widowed	
Divorced	
Separated	

11. Do you have any children living at home?

Yes	
No	

@ 14

12. What ages are they?

First	
Second	
Third	
Fourth	
Fifth	
Sixth	
Others	

13. Do they attend schools in Bentilee?

Yes ☐
No ☐
Mixture ☐

14. Do you have any relatives living on the estate?

Yes ☐
No ☐ → goto 16.

15. How many within about 10 minutes walk?

Finally, I would like you to answer a couple of questions about your friends, and where they live; and then a few further miscellaneous questions.

16. Would you say that most of your friends live on the estate?

Yes ☐
No ☐

17. Do you think that most of your friends know one another?

Yes ☐
No ☐

EXPLAIN Example - Or do they only know one another through you?

18. How often do you visit your friends and relatives who do not live in Bentilee?

Weekly ☐
Monthly ☐
Occasionally ☐
Never ☐

19. Where do most of your friends live then?

20. Do you have a telephone in the house?

Yes ☐
No ☐

21. Whereabouts do you/your husband work? (and what kind of work?)

22. What is your idea of an ideal neighbour whom you would like to live next door to?

23. Have you ever considered moving from Bentilee?

24. If so then where to?

TO BE ANSWERED BY THE INTERVIEWER

25. Sex

- Male ☐
- Female ☐
- Both ☐

26. Age

- 15 - 25 Years ☐
- 26 - 35 " ☐
- 36 - 45 " ☐
- 46 - 55 " ☐
- 56 - 65 " ☐
- Over 65 ☐

27. Occupation/Socio-economic Group

APPENDIX 3

UNIVERSITY OF KEELE

Geography Department

Professor and Head of Department :
Professor S. H. BEAVER, M.A., F.G.S

KEELE, NEWCASTLE,
STAFFORDSHIRE. ST5 5BG
Telephone : Keele Park 371
(STD Code 0782 71 371)

Dear Occupier,

I am undertaking an investigation into people's attitudes towards Bentilee and various other neighbourhoods, and I would be grateful for your views.

The study is being conducted from the Geography Department of the University of Keele and it is not connected with any other private or public organisation. Your household has been selected entirely at random and the study is completely confidential. Your name does not appear on the form and any answers you might give will not be seen by anybody else; they will simply be added to the hundreds of others which I receive, in order to establish some overall impressions of the locality.

In order to keep things as straightforward as possible I am enclosing a standard form, and would be grateful if you could answer the questions by ticking the appropriate box. There is no need for you to return this form, it will be collected in about one week's time.

The questions will only take a few minutes of your time and I do hope that you will be able to complete them because the more forms that are filled in the more successful the study will be.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,

Trevor W. Edwards.
(Research Student)

APPENDIX 4

Scoring of the Attitudinal Attachment and Behavioural Use of the 211 Bentilee Respondents

A. Attitudes

The Index of Attitudinal Attachment was constructed by allocating 'points' to various responses to three principal questions as follows:-

1. 'Is there an area around here, where you are now living which you would say you belong to and where you feel "at home"?'

   YES = 0
   NO = 4

2. 'Do you find the estate a friendly place?'

   FRIENDLY = 0
   MODERATE = 2
   UNFRIENDLY = 4

3. 'Supposing you had to move away from Bentilee, how sorry or pleased would you be?'

   VERY SORRY = 0
   QUITE SORRY = 1
   NEITHER = 2
   QUITE PLEASED = 3
   VERY PLEASED = 4

Possible high for attitudinal index = 12
" low " " " = 0

B. Behavioural Use

The Index of Behavioural Use was constructed from responses to three other questions:-

1. 'Do you generally use the Bentilee shopping centre for your day-to-day shopping needs?'
   YES = 0
   NO = 4

2. 'How frequently do you go into the Harold Clowes Community Centre on the estate for any reason whatsoever?'
   WEEKLY = 0
   MONTHLY = 1
   OCCASIONALLY = 2
   NEVER = 4

3. 'Are you registered with a doctor whose practice is NOT on the estate?'
   YES = 4
   NO = 0

Possible high for use index = 12
Possible low " " " = 0

0 and 4 were used as extreme pointing codes to allow for differentiation, between the range of responses to questions of 'sorry or pleased to leave', and 'use of community centre'.

Scattergrams were then constructed for the four sub-areas showing the distribution of scores across the two-indices; and the extreme 56 households were selected as being appropriate for the follow-up interviews. The approximate distribution of these 'extreme' scores was as follows:-

1. Attitudes $\leq$ 2 and Physical Use $\leq$ 3 (11 respondents)
2. Attitudes $\leq$ 4 and Physical Use $\geq$ 8 (17 respondents)
3. Attitudes $\geq$ 8 and Physical Use $\leq$ 2 (8 respondents)
4. Attitudes $\geq$ 8 and Physical Use $\geq$ 8 (20 respondents)

APPENDIX 5

Manchester Social Information System*

The Manchester Social Information System was a project carried out jointly by Manchester City Planning Department and Social Services Department. It was designed to give a detailed picture of the social structure of the City, using a wide variety of data from the 1971 Census and from Local Authority records. The 45 1971 Census variables and 16 Local Authority variables are listed overleaf.

A factorial analysis of the data produced four major Factors. The final study presented its information in the form of 'Factor Scores' for various sub-areas of the City.

However, the Advance Analysis of 27 Census variables, also included a cluster analysis using a distance measure derived from the Factor Scores. This analysis generated five clusters of enumeration districts within the City of Manchester:-

Cluster 1 (254 e.d.s)

This indicated areas of affluence, with a low density of occupation, little sharing or absence of amenities, and a preponderance of larger dwellings. Most of the dwellings were owner-occupied, and there was a high level of car ownership (particularly of more than one car). Immigrants from the New Commonwealth were significantly under-represented in these areas, and the number of young children was slightly below average.

* The information contained within this Appendix is based upon the two reports: Social Information System - Advance Analysis, April 1974
City of Manchester Social Information Study, September 1975.

Cluster 2 (399 e.d.s)

These were areas mainly of local authority housing, with little sharing of, or lack of, basic amenities. The percentage of families containing old people and the proportion of the population of school age were both slightly above the average for the City. The birth rate, the proportion of immigrants, the percentage of small households and the level of car ownership were all below the City average.

Cluster 3 (143 e.d.s)

In these areas there was a high proportion of private rented accommodation (both furnished and unfurnished) and the level of owner-occupation was slightly above the average. There was also a high level of sharing dwellings and sharing amenities, and a slightly higher level than usual of houses lacking amenities. There were large numbers of both very small and very large houses and a high immigrant population. Relatively few families contained old people. These appeared to be areas in transition, some of them possibly becoming centres for the immigrant population in the City.

Cluster 4 (312 e.d.s)

These areas exhibited a high proportion of private rented unfurnished accommodation, with owner occupation also slightly above the average. Large numbers of dwellings lacked basic amenities, though there was very little sharing either of houses or facilities. The fertility rate was high, as was the proportion of families containing old people, and the level of car ownership was low. These seemed to be more 'stable' areas of older housing.

Cluster 5 (80 e.d.s)

Cluster 5 indicated 'bedsitter-land' with a very high incidence of shared dwellings and shared amenities, overcrowding, small dwellings and furnished rented accommodation. Although there was a high proportion of Irish immigrants, the incidence of other Commonwealth immigrants was lower than in Cluster 3. The population contained relatively few old people and also a low proportion of children. There was a preponderance of small households and of single people.

Variables Used in the S.I.S Study (p.36-SIS)

A. Variables from the 1971 Census (100%)

OVACROWD - percentage of households living at more than 1.5 persons per room.

UNDEROCC - percentage of households living at less than 0.5 persons per room.

SHAREDW - percentage of household living in shared dwellings

MISAMEN - percentage of households without exclusive use of all amenities

FLATS - percentage of occupied household spaces of three or less rooms

MANSIONS - percentage of occupied household spaces of seven or more rooms

OWNOCC - percentage of households who are owner-occupiers

RENTUNF - percentage of households renting private unfurnished accommodation

RENTFUR - percentage of households renting private furnished accommodation

LARENT - percentage of households renting local authority accommodation

IRISHIM - percentage of persons born in N. Ireland or the Irish Republic

FOREIGN	-	percentage of persons born in the Old Commonwealth or in Europe
NEWCOMIN	-	percentage of persons born in the New Commonwealth
GENTWO	-	percentage of persons born in Great Britain with both parents born in the New Commonwealth
FERTILE	-	percentage of persons aged 0 - 4 as a percentage of females aged 15 - 44
BIRTHS	-	percentage of persons under 1, per thousand total population
SCHKIDS	-	percentage of the population aged 5 - 14
PENSIONS	-	percentage of the population aged 65+
PENSION	-	percentage of the population aged 65 - 70
VERIAGED	-	percentage of the population aged 70 - 75
AGEMOST	-	percentage of the population aged over 75
SINGLE or SWD	-	percentage of the population aged over 15 who are single, widowed or divorced.
LITFAM	-	percentage of households containing 1 or 2 persons
BIGFAM	-	percentage of household containing 5 or more persons
OLDFAM	-	percentage of 1 and 2 person households containing at least 1 old person
NO CAR	-	percentage of households with no car
TWOCARS	-	percentage of households with 2 or more cars
LACKBATH	-	percentage of households without use of bath
BATHSHAR	-	percentage of households sharing a bath
WCINSHAR	-	percentage of households sharing an inside W.C.

B. Variables from the 1971 Census 10%

WORKMUM	-	percentage of women in full-time employment with children under the age of 5
ALWORK	-	percentage of persons in employment with 'A' level or OND qualification
GRADWORK	-	percentage of persons in employment with a Degree, HND or equivalent qualification

CLASSI - percentage of economically active males in social class 1

CLASSII - percentage of economically active males is social class 2

CLASSIII - percentage of economically active males in social class 3

CLASSIV - percentage of economically active males in social class 4

CLASSV - percentage of economically active males in social class 5

UNEMPLOY - percentage of the population economically active, but not employed

MOBILE - percentage of the population who had moved to their present address in one year of the Census date

MOBILEV - percentage of the population who had moved to their present address within five years of the Census date.

LACKDAD - percentage of families with dependent children that have a single parent

WORKCAR - percentage of occupied residents travelling to work by car.

WORKFOOT - percentage of occupied residents who walk to work

WORKBUS - percentage of occupied residents travelling to work by public transport

C. Variables taken from Local and Health Authority records, expressed as a percentage of 1971 Census data

MENTALIL - percentage of adults receiving during 1971 either out-patient psychiatric treatment or in-patient treatment (if admitted or discharged during the year), and those receiving social work support in the community

MENTALHAN - percentage of adults who are registered as mentally handicapped

BRONCHIT - deaths from bronchitis in 1971 (as a percentage of the total population)

DYSENTERY - incidence of dysentery in 1971 (as a percentage of the total population)

INFAMOR - Infant mortality in 1971 (as a percentage of those aged 0 - 1)

INSECTS - disinfestation of insects in 1971 (as a percentage of total households).

RODENTS - disinfestation of rodents in 1971 (as a percentage of total households).

SCHOLARS - percentage of the population aged 15-24 receiving, in 1971, further education major awards, ie for courses of at least one year's duration,

TRUANTS - percentage of the population aged 5-15 prosecuted for school absenteeism in 1971.

UNIFORMS - percentage of the population aged 5-15 receiving a school uniform grant in 1971

CLOGRANT - percentage of the population aged 5-15 receiving an Education Department grant for basic clothing

SPECLED - percentage of the population aged 5-15 receiving in 1971 special education because of a handicap (eg blind, deaf and E.S.N)

ILLEGIT - Illegitimate births in 1971 as a percentage of infants aged 0 - 1

INTOCARE - percentage of single population aged 0-19 received into care in 1970-1971

KIDCRIME - percentage of the population aged 10-16 appearing before the courts between January and May, 1971

FAMGRANT - percentage of households receiving financial assistance from the Social Services Department in the year April 1971 to March 1972.

APPENDIX 6

IVERSITY OF KEELE
ARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY.
LE.
FFORDSHIRE, ST5 5BG.

hone: 0782 71 371 Keele Park 371

Head of Department, Professor D. J. Dwyer, B.A., Ph.D.

Dear Occupier,

I am undertaking an investigation into people's attitudes towards their neighbourhoods and I would be grateful for your views.

The study is being conducted from the Geography Department of the University of Keele and it is not connected with any other private or public organisation. Your household has been selected entirely at random and the study is completely confidential. Your name does not appear on the form and any answers you might give will not be seen by anybody else; they will simply be added to the hundreds of others which I receive, in order to establish some overall impressions of the locality.

In order to keep things as straightforward as possible I am enclosing a standard form, and would be grateful if you could answer the questions by ticking the appropriate box. There is no need for you to return this form, it will be collected in about one week's time.

The questions will only take a few minutes of your time and I do hope that you will be able to complete them because the more forms that are filled in the more successful the study will be.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,

Trevor W. Edwards
(Postgraduate Researcher).

STION FORM

Office Use Only

Is there an area around here, where you are now living which you would say you belong to, and where you feel "at home"?

YES ☐
NO ☐

If YES what name do you give to this area? .....

How long have you lived at your present address?

LESS THAN 3 YEARS ☐
3 TO 5 YEARS ☐
6 TO 10 YEARS ☐
11 TO 20 YEARS ☐
OVER 20 YEARS ☐
BORN HERE ☐

Which shopping district do you generally use for your day-to-day shopping needs?

MANCHESTER CITY CENTRE ☐
WITHINGTON VILLAGE ☐
SOMEWHERE ELSE ☐

please specify .....

Which doctor are you registered with?
- please give address.

Road .....

District .....

Do you find this part of Manchester a friendly sort of place?

FRIENDLY ☐
MODERATE ☐
UNFRIENDLY ☐

Supposing you had to move away from your present neighbourhood, how sorry or pleased would you be?

VERY SORRY TO LEAVE ☐
QUITE SORRY TO LEAVE ☐
NEITHER SORRY NOR PLEASED ☐
QUITE PLEASED TO LEAVE ☐
VERY PLEASED TO LEAVE ☐

Does your household own or have the use of a motor car?

YES ☐
NO ☐

Any other comments? .....

.....

.....

Office Use Only

QUESTION FORM

1. Is there an area around here, where you are now living which you would say you belong to, and where you feel "at home"?
   YES ☐
   NO ☐

2. If YES what name do you give to this area? .....

3. How long have you lived at your present address?
   LESS THAN 3 YEARS ☐
   3 TO 5 YEARS ☐
   6 TO 10 YEARS ☐
   11 TO 20 YEARS ☐
   OVER 20 YEARS ☐
   BORN HERE ☐

4. Which shopping district do you generally use for your day-to-day shopping needs?
   MANCHESTER CITY CENTRE ☐
   WITHINGTON VILLAGE ☐
   SOMEWHERE ELSE ☐
   please specify .....

5. Which doctor are you registered with? - please give address.
   Road .....
   District .....

6. Do you find this part of Manchester a friendly sort of place?
   FRIENDLY ☐
   MODERATE ☐
   UNFRIENDLY ☐

7. Supposing you had to move away from your present neighbourhood, how sorry or pleased would you be?
   VERY SORRY TO LEAVE ☐
   QUITE SORRY TO LEAVE ☐
   NEITHER SORRY NOR PLEASED ☐
   QUITE PLEASED TO LEAVE ☐
   VERY PLEASED TO LEAVE ☐

8. Does your household own or have the use of a motor car?
   YES ☐
   NO ☐

9. Any other comments?
   .....
   .....
   .....

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

FIRST I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT THIS PART OF MANCHESTER AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD IMMEDIATELY AROUND YOUR HOUSE.

1. If you make use of any of the following facilities or institutions, could you please tell me whether you usually use facilities within 10 minutes walk, or whether you travel to use facilities available elsewhere in Manchester, and if so, then where?

	10 MINS. WALK	ELSEWHERE
Churches		
Pubs		
Sports		
Club or Associations		
.....		

2. Do you think that the following facilities are adequate in your local area?

	YES	NO
Shops		
Entertainments		
Schools		
Sports		
Employment		
Parks/Recrtn.		

AND NOW, WHAT I WOULD LIKE YOU TO DO IS TO COMPARE YOUR PRESENT NEIGHBOURHOOD WITH YOUR PREVIOUS NEIGHBOURHOOD THROUGH THIS FOLLOWING SET OF QUESTIONS.

3. I know that you have lived at your present address for ..... years, but where did you live before that and for how long?
(If less than 10 minutes walk or less than 10 years - where did you live before that? OR where were you brought up?)

	AREA	YEARS
First.....		.....
Second.....		.....

4. Why did you move?

5. Do you still have any connections with your previous area through any of the following?

	YES	NO
Relatives	☐	☐
Friends	☐	☐
Church	☐	☐
Entertainments	☐	☐
Sports/Recrtn.	☐	☐
Shopping	☐	☐
Work	☐	☐
Clubs/Assns.	☐	☐

6. How does this area compare with the area that you lived in before?
PROMPT - Is it more friendly? Are there better facilities?

7. What is your marital status?

- Married ☐
- Single ☐
- Widowed ☐
- Divorced ☐
- Separated ☐

8. Do you have any children living at home?

- Yes ☐
- No ☐

9. What ages are they?

first second third fourth fifth sixth seventh others

TOTAL = ☐

10. Which schools do they attend?

	SCHOOL	AREA
First	.....	.....
Second	.....	.....
Third	.....	.....

11. Do you have any relatives living within about 10 minutes walk?

- Yes ☐
- No ☐

12. If so, then how many families?

.....

FINALLY, I WOULD LIKE YOU TO ANSWER A COUPLE OF QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR FRIENDS, AND WHERE THEY LIVE; AND THEN A FEW FURTHER MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS.

13. Are there any other people in your household apart from your husband/wife and children?

Yes ☐
No ☐

Who - .....

14. Do you have many friends living within about 10 minutes walk?

Yes ☐
No ☐

15. Do you have many friends living in other parts of the city (/country), and if so then where?

....

....

16. How often do you visit friends or relatives who live more than about one mile away?

Twice-weekly ☐
Weekly ☐
Bi-monthly ☐
Monthly ☐
Seldom ☐
Never ☐

17. Do you think that most of your friends know one another?
EXPLAIN - Does everybody know everybody else in a big circle, or do they only know one another through you?

Yes ☐
No ☐

18. Do you have a telephone in the house?

Yes ☐
No ☐

19. What type of tenure is the house/flat held under?

Owner-occupier ☐
Rent Furnished ☐
Rent Unfurnished ☐
Local Authority ☐

20. Whereabouts do you/your husband work?

.....

21. And for purposes of classification could you give me some idea as to what his occupation is?

.....

22. What is your idea of an ideal neighbour, whom you would like to live next-door to?

23. Have you ever considered moving away from this area? Yes ☐ No ☐

24. If so, then where to? .....

.....

To Be Completed By The Interviewer.

25. Sex

Male ☐
Female ☐
Both ☐

26. Age

15 - 25 Years ☐
26 - 35 " ☐
36 - 45 " ☐
46 - 55 " ☐
56 - 65 " ☐
Over 65 " ☐

27. Type of dwelling unit

Detached ☐
Semi-detached ☐
Terrace ☐
Flat ☐
Other ☐
Unknown ☐

28. Is it a shared dwelling

Yes ☐
No ☐

APPENDIX 9

Details of Response Rate to Manchester Survey
Broken Down by Four Sub-Sample Areas

Total Sample	OVERALL 525	SUB-AREAS 1 150	2 125	3 125	4 125
Interviews Completed	328 (63%)	96(64%)	77(62%)	83(66%)	72(58%)
Questionnaire Only Completed	14	3	2	6	3
Refused	123	30	34	22	37
Property empty	18	4	5	5	4
Uncontacted	42	17	7	9	9

APPENDIX 10

Scoring System for Creation of Socio-Spatial Types for the 328 Manchester Respondents

A. Attitudinal Attachment

1.	Feeling 'at home'	YES = +5 NO = -5 DON'T KNOW = 0
2.	Friendliness of Area	FRIENDLY = +3 MODERATE = 0 UNFRIENDLY = -3
3.	Sorry/pleased to Leave Area	VERY SORRY = +4 QUITE SORRY = +2 NEITHER = 0 QUITE PLEASED = -2 VERY PLEASED = -4

Possible high for attitudinal attachment = + 12
Possible low " " " = - 12

B. Use of Facilities

1.	Use of shopping centre	CORNER SHOPS = +6 LOCAL (Withington) = +4 NON-LOCAL = -6
2.	Address of doctor	LOCAL (Withinton) = +1 NON-LOCAL = -1 NON REGISTERED = 0
3.	Use of Churches) Use of public houses) Use of sports facilities) Use of clubs)	LOCAL = +3 NON-LOCAL = -3 DON'USE = 0

Possible high for use of facilities = + 19
Possible low " " " = - 19

Only 21 of the 328 respondent households scored 0 (nil) on either index.

C. Breakdown of Socio-Spatial Types by Sample Sub-Areas

	SOCIO-SPATIAL TYPES				
	1	2	3	4	
AREA 1	66	16	8	6	
AREA 2	44	8	13	12	
AREA 3	41	13	10	19	
AREA 4	27	23	7	15	
	178	60	38	52	= 328